ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 06306 0153

GC
973.006
M69,
1920-1921

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012

http://archive.org/details/mississippivallev7miss

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

Board of Editors

CLARENCE E. CARTER
ARTHUR C. COLE
LESTER B. SHIPPEE
WALTER L. FLEMING
JAMES A. JAMES
ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY
ARCHIBALD HENDERSON
JAMES F. WILLARD

Managing Editor

CLARENCE W. ALVORD

VOLUME VII
June, 1920, to March, 1921

Published quarterly by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII

Number 1. June, 1920

ARTICLES

Jonathan Carver and the Carver land grant. Milo M. Quaife 3

Transportation and traffic on the Ohio and Mississippi before the steamboat. W. Wallace Carson . . . 26

The Ohio valley in the preliminaries of the war of 1812. Christopher B. Coleman 39

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Journal of a British officer during the American revolution 51

BOOK REVIEWS 59

NEWS AND COMMENTS 87

Number 2. September, 1920

ARTICLES

Henry S. Lane and the formation of the republican party in Indiana. Walter Rice Sharp 93

Kentucky's struggle with its loyalist proprietors. Wilbur H. Siebert 113

Historical activities in the old Northwest. Arthur C. Cole 127

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Some sources for Mississippi valley agricultural history . . 142

Some documents relating to Jefferson Davis at West Point . 146

BOOK REVIEWS 153

NEWS AND COMMENTS 181

Number 3. December, 1920

ARTICLES

The pilgrim and the melting pot. Carl Russell Fish . . 187

Jane Grey Swisshelm: agitator. Lester Burrell Shippee . 206

The first push westward of the Albany traders. Helen Broshar 228

Historical activities in the trans-Mississippi northwest. John C. Parish 242

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Report of inspection of the ninth military department, 1819 . 261

BOOK REVIEWS 275

NEWS AND COMMENTS 293

Number 4. March, 1921

ARTICLES

Cleng Peerson and Norwegian immigration. Theodore C. Blegen 303

The new Northwest. O. G. Libby 332

The buffalo range of the Northwest. H. A. Trexler . . 348

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The journal of William Calk, Kentucky pioneer . . . 363

BOOK REVIEWS 378

NEWS AND COMMENTS 414

INDEX

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME VII

The names of contributors are printed in small capitals. (R) *indicates that the contribution is a review.*

"A family history in letters and documents, 1667-1837," by Mrs. Charles P. Noyes, reviewed, 179-180.

"A woman's story of pioneer Illinois," by C. H. Tillson, reviewed, 176-177.

Abbott, Lawrence F., "Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt," reviewed, 277-279.

Abdy, H. Bennett, "On the Ohio," reviewed, 395-396.

"Abraham Lincoln and the union," by N. W. Stephenson, reviewed, 385-386.

"Adventurers of Oregon," by C. L. Skinner, reviewed, 171-172.

"Adventures in propaganda," by Heber Blankerhorn, reviewed, 73-74.

Alvord, Clarence Walworth, "The Illinois country," reviewed, 399-401.

"American political ideas," by C. E. Merriam, reviewed, 409-411.

"Americanization, Immigration and," by Philip Davis, reviewed, 387-388.

"America's tomorrow," by Snell Smith, reviewed, 292.

"An American history," by D. S. Muzzey, reviewed, 290-291.

"An introduction to the peace treaties," by A. P. Scott, reviewed, 165-166.

ANDERSON, WILLIAM, (R) Kimball's "The national government of the United States," 154-156; (R) Young's "The new American government and its work," 154-156.

"Appomatox, The sequel of," by W. L. Fleming, reviewed, 279-281.

Ashley, Roscoe Lewis, "The new civics," reviewed, 283-284.

Barnard, H. Clive, "The expansion of the Anglo-Saxon nations," reviewed, 411-413.

"Beaumarchais," by E. S. Kite, reviewed, 170-171.

Becker, Carl, "The United States: an experiment in democracy," reviewed, 407-409.

"Biddle, Nicholas, The correspondence of," by R. C. McGrane, reviewed, 79-81.

Bishop, Joseph B., "Theodore Roosevelt's letters to his children," reviewed, 76-79.

Blankerhorn, Heber, "Adventures in propaganda," reviewed, 73-74.

BLEGEN, THEODORE C., *Cleng Peerson and Norwegian immigration,* 303-331.

Bogart, Ernest L., and Charles M. Thompson, "Readings in the economic history of the United States," reviewed, 166-168.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene, and Thomas Maitland Marshall, "The colonization of North America," reviewed, 397-399.

Bonham, Milledge L., Jr., (R) Weill's "Histoire des États-Unis de 1787 à 1917," 70-71.

Bradford, Gamaliel, "Portraits of American women," reviewed, 291.

BRIGGS, JOHN ELY, (R) Maxey's "County administration," 63-64.

BROSHAR, HELEN, *The first push westward of the Albany traders,* 228-241.

Brown, Louise Fargo, "The freedom of the seas," reviewed, 68.

"Buffalo Bill, Memories of," by L. F. Cody and C. R. Cooper, reviewed, 284-286.

Buffalo range of the northwest, The, by H. A. Trexler, 348-362.

"Building of the Pacific railway," by E. L. Sabin, reviewed, 83-84.

"Bureau of American ethnology, Thirty-third annual report of the," reviewed, 177-179.

"Canada at war," by J. C. Hopkins, reviewed, 287-288.

"Carnegie, Andrew, The autobiography of," reviewed, 401-402.

Carson, W. Wallace, *Transportation and traffic on the Ohio and the Mississippi before the steamboat,* 26-38.

Carver, Jonathan, and the Carver grant, by M. M. Quaife, 3-25.

Cheney, Albert Loren, "Personal memoirs of the home life of the late Theodore Roosevelt," reviewed, 277-279.
Clark, Champ, "My quarter century of American politics," reviewed, 275-277.
CLEMEN, RUDOLF A., (R) Hopkin's "Canada at war," 287-288.
Cleng Peerson and Norwegian immigration, by T. C. Blegen, 303-331; problems confronting students of Norwegian immigration, 303-305; early life of Peerson, 305; first journey to New York, 306; conditions of Quakers in Norway, 306-308; evidence that Peerson's trip was an investigation for Quaker society, 308-309; second journey to New York as advance agent of immigrants, 310; preparation for immigrants, 310-312; coming of Norwegians in 1825, 313-314; commission to investigate emigration problem in Norway and its report, 315-318; Peerson's journey to west, 1833, 318-319; founding of Fox river settlement, 319-320; Shelby county, Missouri, settlement, 321; Peerson's journey to Norway and return with immigrants to Missouri settlement, 321; removal of settlers to Sugar creek, Iowa, settlement, 321; Peerson's connection with Iowa settlement, 321-322; third visit to Norway and return with party of immigrants, 322; joins Swedish Bishop Hill colony, 323; marriage, 323; returns to Fox river colony, 323; journeys to Texas, 324-325; last years and death, 325-326; summary of Peerson's activities, 326-327; estimate of Peerson, 327-330.
Cody, Louisa Frederici, and Courtney Ryley Cooper, "Memories of Buffalo Bill," reviewed, 284-286.
COLE, ARTHUR C., *Historical activities in the old Northwest,* 127-141; (R) Stephenson's "Abraham Lincoln and the union," 385-386; (R) Stephenson's "The day of the confederacy," 389-390.
Coleman, Christopher B., *The Ohio valley in the preliminaries of the war of 1812,* 39-50.
"Commercial policy in war time and after," by W. S. Culbertson, reviewed, 69-70.
Cooper, Courtney Ryley, and Louisa Frederici Cody, "Memories of Buffalo Bill," reviewed, 284-286.
Corwin, Edward S., "John Marshall and the constitution," reviewed, 394-395.
COTTERHILL, R. S., (R) Abdy's "On the Ohio," 395-396.
"County administration," by C. C. Maxey, reviewed, 63-64.
Culbertson, William Smith, "Commercial policy in war time and after," reviewed, 69-70.
CUSHMAN, ROBERT EUGENE, (R) Corwin's "John Marshall and the constitution," 394-395; (R) Smith's "The American supreme court as an international tribunal," 403.
Davis, Philip, "Immigration and Americanization," reviewed, 168-170.
Davison, Henry P., "The American Red Cross in the great war," reviewed, 72-73.
De Chambrun, Colonel, and Captain De Marenches, "The American army in the European conflict," reviewed, 74.
De Marenches, Captain, and Colonel De Chambrun, "The American army in the European conflict," reviewed, 74.
"Democracy and education," by John Dewey, reviewed, 64-65.
"Democracy, The moral basis of," by A. T. Hadley, reviewed, 286.
Dennett, Carl P., "Prisoners of the great war," reviewed, 164.
Dewey, John, "Democracy and education," reviewed, 64-65.
"Diary of Viscount Percival," reviewed, 396-397.
DODD, WILLIAM E., (R) Fleming's "The sequel of Appomattox," 279-281.
DUNN, J. P., (R) Becker's "The United States: an experiment in democracy," 407-409; (R) Grinnell's "When buffalo ran," 409.
ECKHARDT, CARL CONRAD, (R) Sloane's "The powers and aims of western democracy," 172-173.
"Education, Democracy and," by John Dewey, reviewed, 64-65.
"Federal military pensions in the United States," by W. H. Glasson, reviewed, 390-391.
FISH, CARL RUSSELL, (R) Brown's "The freedom of the seas," 68; "The path of empire," reviewed, 165; *The pilgrim and the melting pot,* 187-205.
FLEMING, WALTER L., (doc.) *Some documents relating to Jefferson Davis at West Point,* 146-152; "The sequel of Appomattox," reviewed, 279-281.
Ford, Henry Jones, "The Cleveland era," reviewed, 156-158.
"France, Soldiers and sailors of, in the American war for independence (1776-1783)," by Captain Joachim Merlant, reviewed, 388.
"From Upton to the Meuse," by Kerr Rainsford, reviewed, 74-75.
Gaston, Herbert E., "The nonpartisan league," reviewed, 282-283.
"Georgia as a proprietary province," by J. R. McCain, reviewed, 396-397.
Glasson, William H., "Federal military

pensions in the United States,'' reviewed, 390-391.
''Great war, The story of the,'' by R. G. Usher, reviewed, 76.
Grinnell, George Bird, ''When buffalo ran,'' reviewed, 409.
Hadley, Arthur Twining, ''The moral basis of democracy,'' reviewed, 286.
Hall, Arnold Bennett, ''The Monroe doctrine and the great war,'' reviewed, 288-289.
''Handbook of aboriginal American antiquities,'' part 1: ''The lithic industries,'' by W. H. Holmes, reviewed, 61-62.
Henderson, Archibald, ''The conquest of the old Southwest,'' reviewed, 378-383.
Henry S. Lane and the formation of the republican party in Indiana, by W. R. Sharp, 93-112; division of Indiana over the slavery issue, 94-95; first steps toward organization of new party, 95-96; state roused by repeal of Missouri compromise, 97; Lane and other leaders advocate abandonment of whig party organization, 97; early life and political antecedents of Lane, 98; Lane's position among whig leaders in 1854, 99; Lane's attitude toward temperance movement, 100-101; status of know-nothingism in Indiana, 101-103; convention at Indianapolis, 103-105; ''people's'' state ticket elected, 105-106; condition of ''people's'' coalition down to 1856, 107-108; Morton nominated for governor, 108; Lane's place in the party in 1856, 109; Lane delegate-at-large to Philadelphia convention, 109; defeat of Morgan, 110; republicanism firmly established in Indiana, 111; estimate of Lane, 111-112.
''Histoire des États-Unis de 1787 à 1917,'' by Georges Weill, reviewed, 70-71.
Historical activities in the old Northwest, by A. C. Cole, 127-141; progress and activities of historical agencies, 127-129; acquisition of source material, 129-131; publication of source material, 131-132; meetings and published transactions, 132-134; periodical literature, 134-138; monographs and general treatises, 138-141; bibliography, 141.
Historical activities in the trans-Mississippi northwest, by J. C. Parish, 242-260; progress and activities of historical societies, 242-245; war history activities, 245-248; publications of historical societies, 249-253; other historical publications, 253-256; acquisition of source material, 256-259; celebrations, pageants, and the marking of historic sites, 259-260.
''History of the United States,'' by J. F. Rhodes, reviewed, 84-85.
Holmes, W. H., ''Handbook of aboriginal American antiquities,'' part 1: ''The lithic industries,'' reviewed, 61-62.
Hopkins, J. Castell, ''Canada at war,'' reviewed, 287-288.
Hulbert, Archer B., ''The paths of inland commerce,'' reviewed, 153-154.
''Immigration and Americanization,'' by Philip Davis, reviewed, 168-170.
''Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt,'' by L. F. Abbott, reviewed, 277-279.
''In old Pennsylvania towns,'' by A. H. Wharton, reviewed, 387-388.
''International waterways,'' by P. M. Ogilvie, reviewed, 161-162.
James, J. A., (R) Thayer's ''Theodore Roosevelt,'' 76-79; (R) Lewis' ''The life of Theodore Roosevelt,'' 76-79; (R) Bishop's ''Theodore Roosevelt's letters to his children,'' 76-79; (R) Cheney's ''Personal memoirs of the home life of the late Theodore Roosevelt,'' 277-279; (R) Russell's ''Life and work of Theodore Roosevelt,'' 277-279; (R) Leary's ''Talks with T. R.,'' 277-279; (R) Abbott's ''Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt,'' 277-279.
Jane Grey Swisshelm: agitator, by L. B. Shippee, 206-227; early environment and influences, 206-208; marriage, 208; domestic troubles, 208-209, 210; attitude toward slavery, 209-210, 214-215; subjects discussed in her newspaper articles, 211; letters on married women's right to hold property, 211; starts *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter,* 212; controversies occasioned by *Visiter's* tactics, 212-213; first journey to Washington, 214; leaves Swisshelm and settles in St. Cloud, 215; *St. Cloud Visiter,* 216; controversy with Lowry, 217-218; *St. Cloud Democrat,* 218; attitude toward Lincoln, 219; attitude toward secession, 220; other subjects of discussion in the *Democrat,* 222-223; lecture tours, 223; work in Washington during war, 224; becomes government clerk, 225; starts *Reconstructionist,* 225; discharged by president, 225-226; last years, 227.
Jefferson Davis at West Point, Some documents relating to, (doc.) by W. L. Fleming, 146-152.
''John Marshall and the constitution,'' by E. S. Corwin, reviewed, 394-395.
Jonathan Carver and the Carver grant, by M. M. Quaife, 3-25; new material on Carver available, 4; ancestry and early life of Carver, 4-7; Carver explores upper Mississippi and shores of Lake Superior, 8-9; publication of

Travels, 9; third edition of *Travels,* 11; location and extent of land conveyed by grant, 11-12; probable attitude of Carver toward grant, 12; Peters commissioned to investigate deed, 14; Harrison petitions congress on behalf of Carver's heirs, 15; Peters prosecutes claim before congressional committee, 15-16; attempts of Peters to secure confirmation of grant by Sioux chiefs, 17, 20-23; Peters' proposals to Trinity church, 17; schemes for sale of grant, 18; rival claimants to rights of Carver's heirs, 19-21; expedition of Peters to visit Sioux chiefs, 20-23; expedition of King and Gunn, 20; Red Wing acknowledges grant, 24; report of house committee on private lands, 24.

Journal of a British officer during the American revolution, (doc.) by L. P. Kellogg, 51-58.

"Judicial settlement of controversies between states of the American union. An analysis of cases decided in the supreme court of the United States," by J. B. Scott, reviewed, 281-282.

"Judicial settlement of controversies between states of the American union. Cases decided in the supreme court of the United States," by J. B. Scott, reviewed, 281-282.

Kellogg, Louise Phelps, (doc.) *Journal of a British officer during the American revolution,* 51-58; (R) Hulbert's "The paths of inland commerce," 153-154.

"Kentucky, Slavery in," by I. E. McDougle, reviewed, 391-392.

Kentucky's struggle with its loyalist proprietors, by W. H. Siebert, 113-126; nonresident loyalists holding land in Kentucky, 113-115; erection of three new counties by Virginia convention, 115; attacks of Indians upon Boonesborough, 116; expedition sent by Hamilton to win over inhabitants of Boonesborough, 117; emigration into Kentucky, 1779-1780, 118; engagement between Girtys and Rogers' flotilla, 119; expedition sent out by De Peyster against Clark, 119; McKee's raid on Boone's station, 120; Indian and tory expedition against Kentuckians, June, 1782, 121-122; enactment of law of escheats and forfeitures, 122; Connolly's lands forfeited for town of Louisville, 123; Connolly's visit to Louisville in 1788, 123-124; loyalist estates set aside for cause of education, 124; additional land granted to "Transylvania seminary," 125.

Kilpatrick, Lewis H., (doc.) *The journal of William Calk, Kentucky pioneer,* 363-377.

Kimball, Everett, "The national government of the United States," reviewed, 154-156.

Kite, Elizabeth S., "Beaumarchais," reviewed, 170-171.

"La Fayette, The true," by George Morgan, reviewed, 59-61.

Lane, Henry S., and the formation of the republican party in Indiana, by W. R. Sharp, 93-112.

La Rue, William Earl, "The foundations of Mormonism," reviewed, 160-161.

"Laurier, Sir Wilfrid," by Peter McArthur, reviewed, 162-163.

Leary, John J., Jr., "Talks with T. R.," reviewed, 277-279.

"Legislative journals of the council of colonial Virginia," by H. R. McIlwaine, reviewed, 383-385.

"Les États-Unis d'Amèrique et le conflit Européen," by Achille Viallate, reviewed, 71-72.

Lescohier, D. D. (R) Blankerhorn's "Adventures in propaganda," 73-74; "The labor market," reviewed, 66-67.

Lewis, William D., "The life of Theodore Roosevelt," reviewed, 76-79.

Libby, O. G., *The new Northwest,* 332-347; (R) Bolton's and Marshall's "The colonization of North America," 397-399; (R) Alvord's "The Illinois country," 399-401.

"Life and work of Theodore Roosevelt," by T. H. Russell, reviewed, 277-279.

Lindley, Harlow, "The Indiana centennial, 1916," reviewed, 82-83.

"Lithic industries, The," by W. H. Holmes, reviewed, 61-62.

Lord, Arthur, "Plymouth and the pilgrims," reviewed, 387.

Loyalist proprietors, Kentucky's struggle with its, by W. H. Siebert, 113-126.

McArthur, Peter, "Sir Wilfrid Laurier," reviewed, 162-163.

McCain, James Ross, "Georgia as a proprietary province," reviewed, 396-397.

McDougle, Ivan E., "Slavery in Kentucky," reviewed, 391-392.

McGrane, Reginald C., (R) Sharpless' "Political leaders of provincial Pennsylvania," 81-82; "The correspondence of Nicholas Biddle," reviewed, 79-81.

McIlwaine, H. R., "Legislative journals of the council of colonial Virginia," reviewed, 383-385.

Mace, William H., "Mace-Petrie American school history," reviewed, 85-86.

"Mace-Petrie American school history," by W. H. Mace, reviewed, 85-86.

Marshall, Thomas Maitland, and Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The colonization of North America," reviewed, 397-399.

Maxey, Chester C., "County administration," reviewed, 63-64.
Maxson, Charles Hartshorn, "The great awakening in the middle colonies," reviewed, 160.
Melting pot, The pilgrim and the, by C. R. Fish, 187-205.
"Memories of Buffalo Bill," by L. F. Cody and C. R. Cooper, reviewed, 284-286.
Merlant, Captain Joachim, "Soldiers and sailors of France in the American war for independence (1776-1783)," reviewed, 388.
Merriam, Charles Edward, "American political ideas," reviewed, 409-411.
Mississippi valley agricultural history, Some sources for, (doc.) by R. G. Taylor, 142-145.
Moody, John, "The railroad builders," reviewed, 158.
Morgan, George, "The true La Fayette," reviewed, 59-61.
"Mormonism, The foundations of," by W. E. la Rue, reviewed, 160-161.
Moses, Bernard, "Spain's declining power in South America," reviewed, 393-394.
Muzzey, David Saville, "An American history," reviewed, 290-291.
"My quarter century of American politics," by Champ Clark, reviewed, 275-277.
"New York, The port of," by T. E. Rush, reviewed, 386-387.
Ninth military department, 1819, Report of inspection of the, (doc.) 261-274.
Northwest, Historical activities in the old, by A. C. Cole, 127-141.
Northwest, 1919-1920, Historical activities in the trans-Mississippi, by J. C. Parish, 242-260.
Northwest, The new, by O. G. Libby, 332-347.
Norwegian immigration, Cleng Peerson and, by T. C. Blegen, 303-331.
Noyes, Mrs. Charles P., "A family history in letters and documents," reviewed, 179-180.
Ogilvie, Paul Morton, "International waterways," reviewed, 161-162.
Ohio valley in the preliminaries of the war of 1812, The, by C. B. Coleman, 39-50.
"On the Ohio," by H. B. Abdy, reviewed, 395-396.
"Oregon, Adventurers of," by C. L. Skinner, reviewed, 171-172.
Orth, Samuel P., "The armies of labor," reviewed, 156-158; "Our foreigners," reviewed, 174.
Otto, M. C., (R) Dewey's "Democracy and education," 64-65.
"Our foreigners," by S. P. Orth, reviewed, 174.
"Pacific railway, Building the," by E. L. Sabin, reviewed, 83-84.
Parish, John C., (R) Lindley's "The Indiana centennial, 1916," 82-83; *Historical activities in the trans-Mississippi northwest, 1919-1920,* 242-260.
"Peace treaties, An introduction to the," by A. P. Scott, reviewed, 165-166.
Pease, Theodore C., (R) De Chambrun's and De Marenches' "The American army in the European conflict," reviewed, 74.
"Pensions, Federal military, in the United, States," by W. H. Glasson, reviewed, 390-391.
"Perceval, Diary of Viscount," reviewed, 396-397.
"Personal memoirs of the home life of the late Theodore Roosevelt," by A. L. Cheney, reviewed, 277-279.
Phillips, Paul C., (R) Merlant's "Soldiers and sailors of France in the American war for independence (1776-1783)," 388.
Pilgrim and the melting pot, The, by C. R. Fish, 187-205.
"Pilgrims, Plymouth and the," by Arthur Lord, reviewed, 387.
"Pioneer Illinois, A woman's story of," by C. H. Tillson, reviewed, 176-177.
"Plymouth and the pilgrims," by Arthur Lord, reviewed, 387.
"Political leaders of provincial Pennsylvania," by Isaac Sharpless, reviewed, 81-82.
"Portraits of American women," by Gamaliel Bradford, reviewed, 291.
"Prisoners of the great war," by C. P. Bennett, reviewed, 164.
Quaife, Milo M., *Jonathan Carver and the Carver grant,* 3-25.
Rainsford, Kerr, "From Upton to the Meuse," reviewed, 74-75.
Rammelkamp, C. H., (R) Rush's "The port of New York," 386-387.
Randall, J. G., (R) Glasson's "Federal military pensions in the United States," 390-391.
Ray, P. Orman, (R) Story's "The American municipal executive," 62-63.
"Readings in the economic history of the United States," by E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson, reviewed, 166-168.
Report of inspection of the ninth military department, 1819, (doc.) 261-274.
Republican party in Indiana, Henry S. Lane and the foundation of the, by W. R. Sharp, 93-112.
Reuter, Edward Byron, "The mulatto in the United States," reviewed, 175-176.
Rhodes, James Ford, "History of the United States," reviewed, 84-85.

Roberts, Octavia, "With Lafayette in America," reviewed, 59-61.
ROBERTSON, JAMES ALEXANDER, (R) Hadley's "The moral basis of democracy," 286.
ROBERTSON, WILLIAM SPENCE, (R) Shepherd's "The Hispanic nations of the new world," 392-393; (R) Moses' "Spain's declining power in South America," 393-394.
"Roosevelt, Impressions of Theodore," by L. F. Abbott, reviewed, 277-279.
"Roosevelt, Theodore, Life and work of," by T. H. Russell, reviewed, 277-279.
"Roosevelt, Theodore, Personal memoirs of the home life of the late," by A. L. Cheney, reviewed, 277-279.
"Roosevelt, Theodore, The life of," by W. D. Lewis, reviewed, 76-79.
Rush, Thomas E., "The port of New York," reviewed, 386-387.
Russell, Thomas H., "Life and work of Theodore Roosevelt," reviewed, 277-279.
Sabin, Edwin L., "Building the Pacific railway," reviewed, 83-84.
SCHLESINGER, ARTHUR M., (R) Gaston's "The nonpartisan league," 282-283.
SCHMIDT, LOUIS BERNARD, (R) Bogart's and Thompson's "Readings in the economic history of the United States," 166-168.
Scott, Arthur Pearson, "An introduction to the peace treaties," reviewed, 165-166.
Scott, James Brown, "Judicial settlement of controversies between states of the American union. Cases decided in the supreme court of the United States," reviewed, 281-282; "Judicial settlement of controversies between states of the American union. An analysis of cases decided in the supreme court of the United States," reviewed, 281-282.
Sears, Joseph H., "The career of Leonard Wood," reviewed, 291.
SHARP, WALTER RICE, *Henry S. Lane and the formation of the republican party in Indiana,* 93-112.
Sharpless, Isaac, "Political leaders of provincial Pennsylvania," reviewed, 81-82.
Shepherd, William R., "The Hispanic nations of the new world," reviewed, 392-393.
SHILLING, D. C., (R) Muzzey's "An American history," 290-291.
SHIPPEE, LESTER BURRELL, *Jane Grey Swisshelm: agitator,* 206-227; (R) Sabin's "Building the Pacific railway," 83-84; (R) Ford's "The Cleveland era," 156-158; (R) Orth's "The armies of labor," 156-158; (R) Skinner's "Adventurers in Oregon," 171-172; (R) Merriam's "American political ideas," 409-411.
SHORTRIDGE, WILSON P., (R) McDougle's "Slavery in Kentucky," 391-392.
SIEBERT, WILBUR H., *Kentucky's struggle with its loyalist proprietors,* 113-126.
SIOUSSAT, ST. GEORGE L., (R) Henderson's "The conquest of the old Southwest," 378-383; (R) Wharton's "In old Pennsylvania towns," 387-388.
"Sir Wilfrid Laurier," by Peter McArthur, reviewed, 162-163.
Skinner, Constance L., "Adventurers in Oregon," reviewed, 171-172.
"Slavery in Kentucky," by I. E. McDougle, reviewed, 391-392.
Sloane, William Milligan, "The powers and aims of western democracy," reviewed, 172-173.
Smith, Herbert A., "The American supreme court as an international tribunal," reviewed, 403.
Smith, Snell, "America's tomorrow," reviewed, 292.
"Soldiers and sailors of France in the American war for independence (1776-1783)," by Captain Joachim Merlant, reviewed, 388.
Some documents relating to Jefferson Davis at West Point, (doc.) by W. L. Fleming, 146-152.
Some sources for Mississippi valley agricultural history, (doc.) by R. G. Taylor, 142-145.
"Spain's declining power in South America," by Bernard Moses, reviewed, 393-394.
STEPHENSON, GEORGE M., (R) Davis' "Immigration and Americanization," 168-170; (R) Orth's "Our foreigners," 174.
Stephenson, Nathaniel W., "Abraham Lincoln and the union," reviewed, 385-386; "The day of the confederacy," reviewed, 389-390.
Stephenson, William B., Jr., "The land of tomorrow," reviewed, 180.
Story, Russell McCulloch, "The American municipal executive," reviewed, 62-63.
"Talks with T. R.," by J. J. Leary, Jr., reviewed, 277-279.
TAYLOR, RAYMOND G., (doc.) *Some sources for Mississippi valley agricultural history,* 142-145.
Thayer, William Roscoe, "Theodore Roosevelt," reviewed, 76-79.
"The American army in the European conflict," by Colonel De Chambrun and Captain De Marenches, reviewed, 74.
"The American municipal executive," by R. M. Story, reviewed, 62-63.

"The American Red Cross in the great war," by H. P. Davison, reviewed, 72-73.
"The American supreme court as an international tribunal," by H. A. Smith, reviewed, 403.
"The armies of labor," by S. P. Orth, reviewed, 156-158.
"The autobiography of Andrew Carnegie," reviewed, 401-402.
The buffalo range of the northwest, by H. A. Trexler, 348-362; character of the buffalo land of the northwest, 348-349; Lewis' and Clark's descriptions of the buffalo country, 349-350; number of bison in northwest before arrival of permanent white settlers, 350-354; importance of buffalo in economy of Indians, 354-355; methods used by Indians in hunting buffalo, 355-357; methods used by whites, 357; conflicts between Blackfeet and other tribes, 357-359; efforts of Stevens to secure permanent peace between tribes, 359; destruction of buffalo herds, 359-361; Hornaday's expedition, 361.
"The career of Leonard Wood," by J. H. Sears, reviewed, 291.
"The Cleveland era," by H. J. Ford, reviewed, 156-158.
"The colonization of North America," by H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, reviewed, 397-399.
"The conquest of the old Southwest," by Archibald Henderson, reviewed, 378-383.
"The correspondence of Nicholas Biddle," by R. C. McGrane, reviewed, 79-81.
"The day of the confederacy," by N. W. Stephenson, reviewed, 389-390.
"The expansion of the Anglo-Saxon nations," by H. C. Barnard, reviewed, 411-413.
The first push westward of the Albany traders, by Helen Broshar, 228-241; Iroquois as middlemen between Albany traders and western Indians, 229; contrast between British and French trading methods, 229; Anglo-Iroquoian alliance, 229; embassies of Seneca and Oneida to Albany, 231; attitude of French toward British activities, 231; expansion of Albany Indian trade under Dongan, 232; Rooseboom's trading expedition to western Indians, 233; French protest against Rooseboom's venture, 234; expedition of Rooseboom and Macgregory, 234; capture of Rooseboom's and Macgregory's parties by Durantaye, 235; evidences of French weakness, 236-237; halt in western expansion of Albany trade in Frontenac's régime, 238; expedition of Viele to west via Ohio river, 239; attitude of French toward Viele's expedition, 240-241.
"The foundations of Mormonism," by W. E. la Rue, reviewed, 160-161.
"The freedom of the seas," by Louise F. Brown, reviewed, 68.
"The frontier in American history," by F. J. Turner, reviewed, 403-407.
"The great awakening in the middle colonies," by C. H. Maxson, reviewed, 160.
"The Hispanic nations of the new world," by W. R. Shepherd, reviewed, 392-393.
"The Illinois country," by C. W. Alvord, reviewed, 399-401.
"The Indiana centennial, 1916," by Harlow Lindley, reviewed, 82-83.
The journal of William Calk, Kentucky pioneer, (doc.) by L. H. Kilpatrick, 363-377.
"The labor market," by D. D. Lescohier, reviewed, 66-67.
"The land of tomorrow," by W. B. Stephenson, Jr., reviewed, 180.
"The life of Theodore Roosevelt," by W. D. Lewis, reviewed, 76-79.
"The maintenance of peace," by S. C. Vestal, reviewed, 289-290.
"The Monroe doctrine and the great war," by A. B. Hall, reviewed, 288-289.
"The moral basis of democracy," by A. T. Hadley, reviewed, 286.
"The mulatto in the United States," by E. B. Reuter, reviewed, 175-176.
"The national government of the United States," by Everett Kimball, reviewed, 154-156.
"The new American government and its work," by J. T. Young, reviewed, 154-156.
"The new civics," by R. L. Ashley, reviewed, 283-284.
The new Northwest, by O. G. Libby, 332-347; extent and physical features of the region, 332-333; animal life, 333; Indian groups and their contests, 333-334; fur-trade routes, 334; coming of the white men, 334; Radisson first explorer in the region, 335-336; French outdistanced by English in fur-trade competition, 336; Verendrye and his imperial plan, 337-338; Northwest company, 338-339; fur-trade expansion and conflict, 339-340; Selkirk's colony and end of fur-trade conflict, 340-342; Spanish control over region, 342; Napoleon's plan of French colonial empire, 342; region severed by international boundary, 343; growth of population, 343-344; resources and industrial future of the region, 344-345; continental self-consciousness of the re-

gion, 346; relations between populations of adjoining provinces of the region, 346-347; provincial and state universities to train its future public men, 347.
"The new south," by Holland Thompson, reviewed, 159-160.
"The nonpartisan league," by H. E. Gaston, reviewed, 282-283.
The Ohio valley in the preliminaries of the war of 1812, by C. B. Coleman, 39-50; significance of situation in Ohio valley, 40; project of conquest of Canada manifest in debates in the house, 41; reasons for sentiment in favor of conquest, 42-46; battle of Tippecanoe, 47; failure of conquest of Canada, 48; demand of Ohio valley for security of its frontier fulfilled, 48-50.
"The path of empire," by C. R. Fish, reviewed, 165.
"The paths of inland commerce," by A. B. Hulbert, reviewed, 153-154.
The pilgrim and the melting pot, by C. R. Fish, 187-205; effect of life in the Low countries, 188; condition of pilgrims three years after arrival in America, 189; culture planted in America by pilgrims, 189; emigration as a sifter, 190-193; blending of races most conspicuous tendency in United States, 193; other tendencies, 193-194; differences which have given races unequal influence in shaping the nation, 195-199; reasons why reactions of races upon each other have been as they have, 199-204; reasons why pilgrims' influence has remained potent, 204-205.
"The port of New York," by T. E. Rush, reviewed, 386-387.
"The powers and aims of western democracy," by W. M. Sloane, reviewed, 172-173.
"The railroad builders," by John Moody, reviewed, 158.
"The sequel of Appomattox," by W. L. Fleming, reviewed, 279-281.
"The story of the great war," by R. G. Usher, reviewed, 76.
"The true La Fayette," by George Morgan, reviewed, 59-61.
"The United States; an experiment in democracy," by Carl Becker, reviewed, 407-409.
"The vested interests," by Thorstein Veblen, reviewed, 66.
"Theodore Roosevelt," by W. R. Thayer, reviewed, 76-79.
"Theodore Roosevelt's letters to his children," by J. B. Bishop, reviewed, 76-79.
"Thirty-third annual report of the Bureau of American ethnology," reviewed, 177-179.
Thomas, David Y., (R) Rhode's "History of the United States," 84-85.
Thompson, Charles Manfred, and Ernest Ludlow Bogart, "Readings in the economic history of the United States," reviewed, 166-168.
Thompson, Holland, "The new south," reviewed, 159-160.
Tillson, Christiana Holmes, "A woman's story of pioneer Illinois," reviewed, 176-177.
Traffic on the Ohio and the Mississippi before the steamboat, Transportation and, by W. W. Carson, 26-38.
Transportation and traffic on the Ohio and the Mississippi before the steamboat, by W. W. Carson, 26-38; a highway for the emigrant, 26-33; places of embarkation on the Ohio in the early nineteenth century, 26; type of craft used before the revolution, 28; the "ark," 28-31; dangers to the navigator, 31-33; a highway for trade, 33-38; increase of river trade under Spain, 33; illicit trade after closing of Mississippi, 34; growth of New Orleans export trade, 1801-1807, 34; arrivals in New Orleans in 1814 and 1821, 35; increase in value of produce received at New Orleans, 1816-1819, 35; the keel boat, 36-37; the rivermen, 37-38; "ark" and keel boat displaced by steamboat, 38.
Trexler, H. A., *The buffalo range of the northwest,* 348-362.
Turner, Frederick Jackson, "The frontier in American history," reviewed, 403-407.
Tyler, Mason W., (R) Ogilvie's "International waterways," 161-162.
Usher, Roland G., "The story of the great war," reviewed, 76.
Veblen, Thorstein, "The vested interests," reviewed, 66.
Vestal, Samuel C., "The maintenance of peace," reviewed, 289-290.
Violette, E. M., (R) La Rue's "The foundations of Mormonism," 160-161; (R) Ashley's "The new civics," 283-284.
"Virginia, Legislative journals of the council of colonial," by H. R. McIlwaine, reviewed, 383-385.
Watkins, Gordon S., (R) Lescohier's "The labor market," 66-67.
Weill, Georges, "Histoire des États-Unis de 1787 à 1917," reviewed, 70-71.
Wharton, Anne Hollingsworth, "In old Pennsylvania towns," reviewed, 387-388.

"When buffalo ran," by G. B. Grinnell, reviewed, 409.
WHITE, M. J., (R) Thompson's "The new south," 159-160.
"With Lafayette in America," by Octavia Roberts, reviewed, 59-61.
WOOD, GEORGE A., (R) Lord's "Plymouth and the pilgrims," 387.
"Wood, Leonard, The career of," by J. H. Sears, reviewed, 291.
WOODSON, C. G., (R) Reuter's "The mulatto in the United States," 175-176.
WRIGHT, QUINCY, (R) Fish's "The path of empire," 165; (R) Scott's "An introduction to the peace treaties," 165-166.
Young, James T., "The new American government and its work," reviewed, 154-156.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

SUMMER SESSION

July 5-Aug. 12, 1921

Courses will be offered in many subjects in the different schools of Columbia University, parallel and equivalent to those of the academic year, counting toward the degrees of A.B., B.S., A.M., M.S., Ph.D., LL.B., M.D., and various diplomas of Teachers College.

Courses offered by the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, and the School of Education, Teachers College

→ ECONOMICS ←

Introduction (First and Second Course)
Principles of Money and Banking
Labor Problems
Public Health and the Standard of Living
Public Finance
Comparative Economic Theory
Theory of Price Competition

→ GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC LAW ←

American State and Federal Governments
History of American Diplomacy
Constitutional Law of the United States — States and Nation — Government and Individual
International Law
International Organization and Coöperation
Municipal Government
European Governments
Principles of Political Obligation
Teaching of Citizenship in secondary schools
Illustrative lessons in American Democracy and Citizenship

→ HISTORY ←

Ancient History (Survey). Ancient Orient. Hebrews. Assyria
The History of Greece and Rome
Mediaeval History: Political and Cultural Aspects
Evolution of the European State-System, 1648-1789
The Old Regime, the French Revolution and the Work of Napoleon
Political and Social History of Europe, 1815-1870
European History since 1870.
Survey of the History of the United States. American History to 1789
Development of American Nationality. United States 1783-1815
The Civil War
Hispanic America and its Relations with the United States
Recent Diplomatic History, 1904-1920
Seminar: Problems in the Life of Lincoln
Industrial and Social History. Teaching of History in High Schools, Elementary Schools. Illustrative Lessons in Modern History

→ SOCIOLOGY ←

Community Leadership and Organization. Principles of Modern Social Work
Principles of Sociology
Seminar: Socialization of Religious Institutions. Rural Sociology and Social Surveys. Educational Sociology

→ STATISTICS ←

Principles and Methods
Intensive Laboratory Course
Advanced Statistics
Educational Statistics

For Announcement of Summer Session 1921, Address
SECRETARY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY
Box 211, Sub-Station 84

123913

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. VII, No. 1 JUNE, 1920

JONATHAN CARVER AND THE CARVER GRANT [1]

For residents of the upper Mississippi valley the career of Jonathan Carver must ever possess a peculiar interest. Although practically a century of exploitation of this region by the French preceded Carver's enterprise of 1766-1767, with the conclusion of the seven years' war their dominion vanished from North America. For obvious reasons the French had concealed as far as possible from their English rivals the knowledge they had gained of the interior of the continent. Accordingly, the opportunity still remained to Carver to reveal to the English-speaking world as a fresh discovery the geographical knowledge which by two years of toilsome adventure he had acquired.

That Carver fully appreciated the importance of the information he brought back to civilization in the autumn of 1768 there is ample evidence. Within a month after his return to Boston there appeared in the *Boston Chronicle* a "Proposal to the public" for the issuance on subscription basis of a journal of his travels. For some reason, however, — probably because of lack of response on the part of the public — the project was abandoned and in February, 1769, Carver sailed for England, intent on bringing out his journal there. The story of his disappointment and of the factors responsible for postponing publication of his book until 1778 is recited by Carver himself in the introduction to the first edition of his *Travels*. It is sufficient here to observe that, after long years of alternation between hope and despair, he finally died of want in London in 1780. Meanwhile his book had been published two years before and it quickly

[1] This paper was given as the presidential address at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association at Greencastle, Indiana, April 29, 1920.

achieved a widespread success. Edition followed edition in English, German, French, and Dutch, until in all thirty or more had been published. But the book, no less than its author, was destined to experience fluctuations of fortune. From time to time its validity was called in question by students of the subjects with which it dealt, until at length a brilliant exponent of the modern school of historical criticism, Mr. Edward G. Bourne of Yale, subjected it to a destructive analysis calculated to blast forever the claims of Carver concerning his explorations and the reputation of his *Travels*.[2]

The last word, apparently, had been said on the subject, and for a time there were none so poor as to do Carver honor. But it is never safe to celebrate a victory until all the returns are in. Upon reconsideration it became apparent that the performance of the historical critic was itself open to criticism and that there was still something to be said in defense of Carver and his famous book. During the last decade several middle western historical workers have approached the question from one angle or another.[3] The publication more recently of Mr. William Browning's notable contribution upon the early career of Carver [4] and the acquisition by the State historical society of Wisconsin of important manuscript material pertaining to his later life and to the Carver grant seems to render the occasion opportune for a fresh discussion of Carver's career in the light of all the information now available.

Of Carver's ancestry and early life two contradictory accounts have hitherto been given, one by Dr. John Lettsom, benefactor of Carver's English widow, the other by the Reverend Samuel Peters, who, in his old age, became claimant of the Carver grant.[5]

[2] Edward G. Bourne, "The travels of Jonathan Carver," in *American historical review*, 11: 287 ff.

[3] See John T. Lee, "A bibliography of Carver's travels," and "Captain Jonathan Carver: additional data," in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1909, p. 143 ff., 1912, p. 87 ff.; testimony of J. F. Lee and M. M. Quaife in *United States of America* vs. *Economy light and power company*; M. M. Quaife, "Critical evaluation of the sources for western history," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 1: 169 ff.; Robert Rogers, *Ponteach: or the savages of America*, edited by Allan Nevins (Chicago, 1914), 120 ff.

[4] William Browning, "The early history of Jonathan Carver," in *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 3: 291 ff.

[5] Lettsom's sketch is given in the introduction to the London, 1781, edition of

Lettsom's account is obviously erroneous in part and it was therefore rejected by Bourne; that of Peters was likewise rejected, on the two-fold ground, apparently, that statements emanating from Peters are not entitled to credit, and that the one in particular which made Carver a direct descendant of Governor Carver of Plymouth could not be true since the governor left no surviving male issue. Now, a liar may tell the truth on occasion, and equally an honest man may speak erroneously. The critic's distrust of Peters' veracity was amply justified; but in the matter of Jonathan Carver's descent from Governor John Carver, Peters evidently intended to tell the truth and almost succeeded in doing so, for the explorer's first American ancestor was in fact Robert Carver, the brother of Governor John Carver of Plymouth.[6] Robert Carver settled at Marshfield, Massachusetts, about the year 1638, and here, thirty years later, was born his grandson, David Carver. Some time prior to the year 1700 David Carver located at Weymouth, Massachusetts, where he married Hannah Dyer about the year 1702. To them was born (besides other children) a son, Jonathan, April 13, 1710.[7] About the year 1718 David Carver removed with his family to Canterbury, Connecticut, where he died in 1727.

In view of the many statements that have been made concerning the ignorance and lowly estate of Jonathan Carver[8] it is worth while to note what manner of man his father was, and what the environment in which he was reared. The investigations of Browning show that Ensign David Carver was a man of prominence in his community for at least a quarter of a century before his death. At Weymouth he was elected to a number of offices, including those of tithingman, constable, and selectman.

Carver's *Travels*. Peters' brief account is in *American state papers: public lands*, 4: 88. A much longer biographical sketch of Carver, which seems to have been prepared in 1805 by Samuel Harrison (discussed later in this paper), possibly with the aid of Peters, is among the Peters papers in the Wisconsin historical library.

[6] On Jonathan Carver's ancestry and youth, see Browning, "The early history of Jonathan Carver," in *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 3: 291 ff.

[7] Lettsom stated that Carver was born at Stillwater, Connecticut, in 1732; Peters, that his birth occurred at Canterbury in 1729. From the fact that his marriage to Abigail Robbins took place in 1746, recent writers have inclined to place his birth some years earlier than these dates.

[8] For a discussion of this point see Lee, "A bibliography of Carver's travels," in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1909, p. 145 ff.

He was a "householder" of the village and owner, in addition to other property, of a grist-mill. After removing to Canterbury he was repeatedly elected leather sealer; within two years he was chosen "first selectman" and he repeatedly served as moderator of the town meetings. So numerous were these elections that Browning concludes that in his first few years at Canterbury David Carver "was elected to about every office in the gift of the town." Dying in 1727, when not quite sixty years of age, he left an estate the appraisal value of which was over £2,000. Although this figure would be deemed unimpressive at the present time, in his day and environment it made him a man of wealth.

On the maternal side, too, the explorer's ancestry was of the best. Mrs. David Carver was a sister of Colonel John Dyer of Canterbury and Colonel Thomas of Windham, both prominent in the affairs of Connecticut. Solomon Pain, son-in-law of David Carver and executor of his estate, was widely known as a leader and organizer of the separatist church movement in Connecticut. Instead of the obscure youth and absence of education which many writers have ascribed to Jonathan Carver, it is amply evident that he enjoyed the best advantages his time and place afforded and that his nearest older relatives and associates were men of influence and standing in more than a local way. With respect both to heredity and environment Carver's equipment was of the best.

Of detailed information concerning Carver's doings prior to the seven years' war there is little. On October 20, 1746, he married Abigail Robbins at Canterbury, and to them, according to Canterbury town records, were born daughters in 1747 and 1748. Hence it seems apparent that until the latter date the explorer continued to reside at Canterbury. A few years later, however, when the seven years' war opened, the couple is found domiciled at Montague, Massachusetts. A man of military age who lived in western Massachusetts during these stirring years could hardly have avoided military service if he would, but Carver seems to have entertained no such desire. Over his military record, as over most things else concerning him, Bourne and other critics have cast the shadow of doubt. Yet Lee has proved [9] from con-

[9] Lee, "Captain Jonathan Carver: additional data," in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1912, p. 89 ff.

temporary records that the account given by Dr. Lettsom of Carver's military services is substantially correct. Peters says that Carver, enlisting as a private soldier, behaved "so brave and heroic" that he was promoted successively to a lieutenancy and a captaincy; that he went through the terrible massacre of Fort William Henry;[10] that he served under Wolfe at Quebec and with Amherst at the siege and surrender of Montreal; and that as a soldier and officer "he always acquitted himself with the high reputation of ability and bravery."[11] General Gage certified in 1768 that Carver had served as a captain "during the late War, with Reputation," and that he "ever bore the character of a very good man."[12] A significant indication, meanwhile, of his repute among his neighbors at home is afforded by the information that "Lieutenant Carver" was selectman of Montague in 1759.[13]

The humdrum routine of peaceful Montague, after several years of military life, seems to have accorded ill with Carver's temper. "Enured to fatigue and danger," relates Peters, he "became uneasy with a retirement in domestic Life," and within three years he entered upon a practically final separation from his wife and children. According to Carver himself,[14] he independently conceived and put into execution a project for exploring the new-won dominions of Great Britain beyond the Great lakes, and finding thence a route across the continent to the western ocean. From this vantage point the Connecticut Yankee's vision took a still wider range. With an English post once established on the Pacific, a new center of operations would be afforded for prosecuting the trade with China and a renewed

[10] His vivid eyewitness account of this, published in the *Travels,* has been discredited by Bourne and Thwaites, but more recently has been validated by Lee. See Bourne, "The travels of Jonathan Carver," in *American historical review,* 11: 290; *Wisconsin historical collections,* 18: 280; Lee, "A bibliography of Carver's travels," in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings,* 1909, p. 143 ff.

[11] Manuscript biography, in letter to the editor of the *New York Columbian,* July 5, 1815. Transcript in Wisconsin historical library.

[12] Lee, "Captain Jonathan Carver: additional data," in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings,* 1912, p. 113.

[13] E. P. Pressey, *History of Montague* (Montague, Massachusetts, 1910), 242. Since Carver, according to documents discovered by Lee, did not attain his captaincy until after 1760 it seems probable that the selectman and the future explorer are identical.

[14] Introduction to the London, 1778, edition of the *Travels.*

search for the northwest passage. It was a magnificent project, fairly anticipating by forty years the exploration of Lewis and Clark under the patronage of President Jefferson. That Carver has given a correct account of its origin seems, however, improbable. Its real father was another son of Connecticut whose career was even more picturesque than Carver's and whose end was equally unfortunate. The name of Robert Rogers had become a household word throughout America by reason of his daring exploits as a ranger in the seven years' war. At the close of the war he proceeded to England to seek political or other preferment. There he dabbled in literature, producing the second drama ever printed by an American; speedily acquired celebrity as a roisterer and clubman; and besieged those in authority for governmental appointment. In the latter connection he laid before the king a bold project for finding the northwest passage.[15] With two hundred men, suitably provisioned and equipped, he proposed to proceed across the headwaters of the Mississippi and down the Oregon to Puget sound; thence he would follow the coast northward to the Arctic and the hoped-for passage. For the consummation of the enterprise, he estimated, three years' time and £28,700 would be needed.

This plea of Rogers was rejected by the privy council, but in its stead he was given the command of the important post of Mackinac. Never was a more unhappy appointment. As a leader of rangers in border warfare Rogers was superb, but as a responsible executive in a position calling for the exercise of discretion and judgment he proved a total failure. His short and tumultuous career as governor of Mackinac ended with his summary arrest on a charge of treason [16] in December, 1767. Long before this termination of his governorship, however, Rogers had taken steps looking to the execution of his project of western exploration. Hardly had he arrived at Mackinac in the summer of 1766 when, probably through prior collusion on the subject, Jonathan Carver appeared on the scene. Almost immediately Rogers engaged him to lead an exploring party to the westward and outfitted him with provisions for the journey. At the beginning of September, Carver paddled across Lake Michigan to

[15] Rogers, *Ponteach: or the savages of America* (Nevins ed.), 102 ff.

[16] Later changed to a charge of mutiny, on the trial of which Rogers was acquitted.

Green Bay and made his way thence by the Fox-Wisconsin river route to Prairie du Chien. Here he turned northward and in due time reached the falls of St. Anthony, where by prearrangement with Rogers a fresh supply of goods for use in his transcontinental journey was to have met him. The supplies never arrived and the journey which Carver made to Lake Superior in the hope of there securing an outfit from the traders who annually went west from Mackinac by way of Lake Superior to Grand Portage and beyond, proved equally futile. Without the goods it was idle to attempt the western exploration, and Carver was forced to content himself with spending upwards of a year exploring the upper Mississippi and the shores of Lake Superior, whence he returned to Mackinac at the end of August, 1767. There he spent the winter, returning to Boston in midsummer, 1768, over two years after his departure therefrom. He carried back with him a certain Indian deed, the foundation of the famous Carver grant, which will be considered later in this study. He carried also a store of experiences and a fund of geographical information concerning the upper Mississippi and the Lake Superior regions calculated to bring him fame and preferment if only he could lay them before the public.

The hopes which Carver must have entertained when on February 22, 1769, he set sail for England were destined to meet with cruel disappointment. After eleven years of life in England he died of privation and want in the capital of the empire he had labored so valiantly to preserve and extend. During this sojourn in England he had, after years of trial and disappointment, brought out his volume of *Travels* in 1778. The book achieved instant success, but this availed little to relieve the wants of its author. In addition to his great work, he wrote a treatise on the culture of tobacco, drew maps, and loaned his name to be used in bolstering the fortunes of a new *Universal geography* which appeared in 1779. These things aside, he importuned the government for compensation for his toils and expenditures while exploring the northwest; and, forgetting his obligation to the wife and family in America, in 1774 he contracted a marriage alliance with Mrs. Mary Harris, widow of a captain in the royal navy. The fruit of this union was two children, one of whom died young; the other, Martha, grew to

womanhood and in due time made her appearance as a claimant of the Carver grant. Aside from this bigamous marriage, nothing to the discredit of Carver during these later years has come to light. On the contrary, it seems evident from the scattering bits of positive information available that he bore an excellent reputation and had the power to command the respectful consideration of shrewd and influential men.

To two men in particular was the explorer and, later, his widow indebted. Dr. John Fothergill was one of the most eminent and successful physicians in England.[17] He won distinction, too, as a scientist and for his notable philanthropic enterprises. When Carver fell ill Dr. Fothergill not only treated him without charge, but he accompanied each medical prescription with a generous gift of money. But misfortune had not broken the pride of Carver, who discontinued his visits to his benefactor, deliberately preferring starvation to the further acceptance of bounty, notwithstanding it was freely bestowed.[18] "If I had known his distress he should not thus have died!" exclaimed Fothergill when Carver's fate was communicated to him.

It was Fothergill who brought Dr. John C. Lettsom, his disciple and friend, likewise famous for his scientific attainments and philanthropic interests, into contact with Carver. Three days before Carver's demise, Lettsom called upon him at Fothergill's request. Contrary to the supposition of many of Carver's commentators, Lettsom had never seen Carver before this visit, and the interest he shortly displayed for the explorer was aroused only after Carver's death. Lettsom's knowledge of Carver, therefore, was gained wholly from such papers as he left behind and from such information as he might glean from the widow and others. This circumstance accounts for the errors

[17] On Fothergill's career see John C. Lettsom, *Memoirs of John Fothergill, M. D.* (fourth edition, London, 1786). His connection with Carver, together with Dr. Lettsom's patronage of Carver's widow and child, are set forth on p. 81 ff.

[18] "But Captain Carver was not an importunate solicitor; the mind not hardened by familiarity of refusal, or that hath not acquired, by frequent struggles, the art of suppressing its emotions, possesses that diffidence which is the inseparable associate of worth. Between diffidence and want, many were the struggles of Captain Carver, but, overcome at length by repeated acts of the Doctor's generosity, a jealous suspicion of becoming troublesome to his benefactor, determined him to prefer that want, from the deprivation of the necessaries of life, which put it out of the power of his choice; for death soon triumphs over famine." *Ibid.*, 83.

committed by Lettsom in his account of Carver's life and also exonerates Carver from responsibility for these errors.

Carver, dying penniless, was buried in the section of the churchyard reserved for paupers. But Lettsom, reflecting on the utility of his *Travels*, "considered him as a public loss, and his offspring as the children of the public." He therefore presented the widow a few pounds for the purchase of food and clothing. Instead, she used the money to remove her husband's body from the pauper's plot to a more respectable resting place and to raise over it a suitable monument. Almost nothing is known of the life or character of Mary Carver, but this single imprudent act argues eloquently for the essential nobility of her nature. It moved the heart of Lettsom, who continued to manifest an interest in her welfare. Thus, he secured control of the *Travels* and brought out the third edition for the benefit of the widow in 1781. It may be surmised, too, that he had some agency in obtaining the annuity which was later bestowed upon her by the king. That Mrs. Carver's affections were stronger than her judgment seems indicated by Lettsom's statement that he seldom saw her when she was not intoxicated.[19]

The remainder of this study has to do with the famous Carver grant, which until comparatively recent years has occasioned anxious inquiry on the part of unwary investors in fraudulent or invalid land titles. So far as positive evidence is concerned, Carver himself never said anything in life about the noted grant.[20] But when in 1781 Dr. Lettsom published the third edition of the *Travels*, he prefixed to Carver's narrative an account of the explorer's career. Herein was first revealed to the world an Indian deed, the original of which was stated to be in Lettsom's possession, granting to Carver upwards of ten thousand square miles of land lying in the modern states of Wisconsin and Minnesota. The deed purports to have been made to Carver by two Sioux chiefs in a council at a great cave within the limits of modern St. Paul, May 1, 1767. The land thus conveyed was bounded by a line running along the east bank of the Mississippi

[19] Transcript of a letter of Lettsom to Gravener, January 15, 1805, in Wisconsin historical library.

[20] The statements of the Reverend Samuel Peters in this connection will be considered presently.

from the falls of St. Anthony to the mouth of the Chippewa river; thence due east for one hundred miles; thence due north one hundred and twenty miles; and from this point southwestwardly to the starting point — in other words the territory granted comprised most of the northwestern quarter of the present state of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Carver was obviously incapable of fabricating such a document, and there can be no escape from the conclusion that it originated with Carver. Did he mendaciously fabricate it, or did the transaction described in the deed in fact take place? One of these alternatives must be accepted, but neither is susceptible of clear demonstration. Resorting, then, to inference based on the pertinent circumstances of the case, the present writer inclines to the conclusion that the grant which the deed sets forth was in fact made to Carver. The validity of the grant is quite another matter, of course. Carver least of all could have harbored any illusions as to its value in the absence of its formal recognition by the British government. Such recognition was never gained and the deed, consequently, was never valid. Why, then, did Carver accept and preserve it? And why remain silent about it? These questions can be answered with reasonable probability. It cost him nothing to take the deed; it afforded, at any rate, interesting evidence of his prowess with the natives and of his success in conciliating their good will. No candid reader of his *Travels* can fail to be impressed with his enthusiasm for the expansion of English commerce and dominion; and with reference to the particular scheme which he carried back to England for trade and exploration, it was of material moment to be able to show that the natives would welcome the establishment he proposed to make at Lake Pepin. What better evidence of such an attitude on their part could he carry to England than the very deed in question? It is quite within the range of probability to suppose that Carver never intended to exploit the grant merely in the capacity of private ownership, but rather in the public way here suggested. Indeed, but for the outbreak of the revolution, it seems likely he would have succeeded in this project, for he had enlisted the support of Richard Whitworth, speaker of the house of commons, to put

into execution his great design.[21] Why, then, did he maintain silence about the grant? We do not know that he did. He may well have discussed it with Whitworth, or even with the privy council. But in the midst of the revolution (the volume of *Travels* was printed in 1778), with no present likelihood of realizing his design, he may wisely have concluded that it was idle to say anything about the grant in the book.

Whether or no the Indian deed was fabricated by Carver, the Carver grant has a real, albeit a complex and involved, history. After Jonathan Carver's death the widow showed to Dr. Lettsom "a paper of half a sheet with two marks said to be those of Indian chiefs at the foot of a grant of Land."[22] In his published account of Carver, Lettsom represented that this deed was now in his possession. If so, such possession was only temporary, for he later stated in response to an inquiry that his first knowledge of the supposed conveyance was gained from the widow after Carver's death; that after her death he "searched every lodging where she had been and the place where she died without being able to find the least vestige of paper or cloaths, not even any certificate of her having been married to Capt. Carver"; and that he was now (1804) of opinion that no such "legal instrument" was in existence.[23]

The further history of the Carver grant centers so largely around the character and acts of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Peters that the story can best be told in connection with a survey of his career. Peters is one of the bizarre characters of American history. His life, like ancient Gaul, is divided into three parts.[24] Born at Hebron, Connecticut, November 20 (o. s.), 1735, he became an Episcopal minister, and until the year 1774 led the quiet life of a village curate in his native town. In the dispute with the mother country, which was shortly to flame into open revolt, Peters adopted a decided tory attitude and because of this he was forced to flee the country. He reached England

[21] Carver, *Travels* (1778 ed.), 539 ff.

[22] Transcript of letter of Lettsom to Gravener, January 15, 1805, in Wisconsin historical library.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] On Peters' career see Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical sketches of the graduates of Yale college with annals of the college history* (New York, 1896), 2: 482 ff., with bibliography appended.

about the close of the year 1774, and here he continued to sojourn for the next thirty years. In the present brief survey but three facts concerning this period need be noted: Peters early obtained a pension from the government, which afforded him a means of support. He shortly wrote a history of Connecticut, published anonymously in 1781, and its contents have provided loyal sons of the "Nutmeg state" with material for angry animadversion until the present moment. Finally, from the beginning of this English sojourn, if his own statements are to be credited, but more probably only shortly before its termination, Peters manifested an active interest in the fate of Carver and of his Indian grant.

Two incidents occurring about the same time — a quarrel with William Pitt which resulted in striking Peters' name from the pension roll,[25] and the receipt of a letter[26] from one Samuel Harrison of Chittenden, Vermont — led Peters in 1805, now in his seventieth year, to return to America and there begin the third period in his career. Harrison was a native of England, now living in Vermont, and a distant relative by marriage of one of Jonathan Carver's granddaughters by his American wife. In the capacity of agent for the Carver heirs, he informed Peters of the supposed grant to Carver and of the reports that had come to America concerning his English marriage; and asked that Peters learn and report to him whether the deed could be found, and the facts about the supposed marriage and any issue that might have resulted therefrom. Peters undertook the commission, presumably with alacrity in view of Harrison's offer of "ample compensation." Therewith, despite his holy orders and his advanced years, he entered upon a career of real estate speculation and promotion which was to consume the remainder of his life (he lived until more than ninety years of age) and add an interesting chapter to the history of the upper Mississippi valley.

It is characteristic of the maze of chicanery and deception into which this chapter plunges the investigator that, some ten years prior to Harrison's communication to Peters, Carver's

[25] Statement of Governor John S. Peters in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American pulpit*, 5: 193.

[26] Harrison to Peters, October 9, 1804. Transcript in Wisconsin historical library.

heirs had sold their claim to the Indian grant to Edward Houghton of Vermont for the sum of £50,000 sterling. Houghton never paid the purchase money to the heirs, who seem to have continued to consider themselves as entitled to the property.[27] To Peters, the prospect disclosed by the receipt of Harrison's letter must have come as a heaven-sent opportunity. With commendable promptness he returned to his native land and shortly acquired a proprietary interest in the claim of the heirs to the Carver grant.[28] On January 1, 1806, Samuel Harrison on behalf of the heirs petitioned congress praying the ratification of the Indian deed.[29] Peters about the same time applied to President Jefferson for an appointment "as superintendent over the Indians, near as may be to the Falls of St. Anthony," [30] stating as the reason for the request that he had agreed with Carver's heirs to go and settle with them on the grant as soon as congress should ratify the deed. The following weeks Peters spent at Washington prosecuting the claim before the committee of congress to which it had been referred. The record of the committee's action has been lost and we have only the statements of Peters, given before a later committee of congress,[31] as to what took place. Peters then claimed that the committee in 1806 had agreed with Harrison that if the present successors of the two chiefs who had signed the original deed to Carver in 1767 would recognize the claim, it would thereupon be ratified by congress; and that to afford him opportunity to secure such recognition by the chiefs the hearing was adjourned and the papers pertaining

[27] The deed to Houghton is printed in connection with a memorial of the Mississippi land company of New York to congress in 1822.

[28] Peters testified before a congressional committee in 1825 that he bought the claim of the heirs in November, 1806. *American state papers: public lands*, 4: 83. But during the session of congress preceding this date he had actively engaged in pushing the claim of the heirs before congress and had agreed with them, so he informed President Jefferson, to settle on the grant when it should be confirmed to them.

[29] A transcript of the petition is in the Wisconsin historical library. Martha Pope, the English daughter of Carver, was represented as joining with the American heirs in the petition; the number of heirs, together with "consorts and children," was given as ninety-eight persons.

[30] Transcript in Wisconsin historical library of a letter (unaddressed, but obviously to Jefferson), January 27, 1806.

[31] Report to house of representatives, January 28, 1825, on the Carver grant, printed in *American state papers: public lands*, 4: 82 ff.

to it deposited with Samuel Otis, secretary of the senate.[32] When Harrison returned to Vermont and told the heirs what they must do as a preliminary to taking possession of the grant, they held a meeting and decided they were unable to afford the expense of sending a mission to the Sioux. In November, 1806, therefore, they sold their claim to Peters.[33]

Much else did Peters relate to the congressional committee concerning Carver's claim,[34] but unfortunately the conclusion cannot be escaped that in his pursuit of the grant to Carver he did not hesitate to distort the truth whenever such distortion promised to advance his interest. His statements, uncorroborated, cannot be relied upon; and in the absence of supporting authority can be accepted only tentatively. In the light of the sources at present available the present writer is led to conclude that Peters' claims of an early acquaintance with Carver at Canterbury are unfounded; that while he may have known Carver in England in the years 1774 to 1780, he knew nothing of the Carver grant, or at any rate felt no interest in it, until the receipt of Samuel Harrison's letter of October 9, 1804; and that his later statements concerning a knowledge of the Indian deed were sheer inventions, fabricated to subserve his enterprise of wringing from congress the much-desired validation of the grant.[35]

[32] *American state papers: public lands,* 4: 83; and Dr. Peters' remarks on the committee report of January 28, 1825 (transcript in Wisconsin historical library).

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *American state papers: public lands,* 4: 82 ff.

[35] Positive demonstration of these propositions cannot be afforded; they are advanced for the present merely as conclusions which the available evidence seems to render probable. The writer's chief reason for distrusting Peters' entire story concerning his acquaintance with Carver and knowledge of the grant consists in the consideration that had he enjoyed such acquaintance and knowledge there would have been no occasion for making certain false statements under oath to the senate committee of 1806; the truth would have served him better than the inventions to which he resorted. Thus, he testified that he had been present with Dr. Lettsom at the death bed of Carver and that the latter had committed his papers to Lettsom and begged that he and Peters secure the ratification of the grant "for the benefit of his children and country"; that in 1804, when Peters applied to Lettsom for the original deed to send to the American heirs, Lettsom stated that it had disappeared, and he had reason to suppose it had been stolen by a servant who had been bribed thereto by someone who was promoting Martha Carver's claim to the Indian grant. We have already seen that what Lettsom actually said in reply to Peters' inquiry was radically different from Peters' testimony.

Having purchased the rights of the Carver heirs in November, 1806,[36] Peters the following year sent Constant Andrews as his agent to visit the Sioux chiefs and secure their ratification of the grant to Carver.[37] Andrews went to Detroit and there obtained from Governor Hull license to visit the Sioux; but he fell into the hands of an Indian war party and was kept a prisoner for several years. Peters then sent a man named Norton on the same mission, and with similar result; Norton got as far as Mackinac when the Indian troubles of 1811 prevented him from going farther. A man named Cunningham was now sent out, only to be stopped by the war between the United States and England. Meanwhile, without waiting to perfect his title, Peters undertook to sell tracts of land in the Carver grant to whomever he might persuade to purchase them. In February, 1812, he laid before the authorities of Trinity church of New York a plan for civilizing and christianizing "the Gentiles in the Western Territory."[38] He stated that the grant to Carver, more than one hundred miles square in extent, was now solely his property; that he had sixty families settled on it;[39] and that he intended to leave New York for New Orleans in May, 1812, and thence ascend the Mississippi in a steamboat to Prairie du Chien. He had spent four months with two Sioux chiefs sent as an embassy to congress,[40] and in response to their urging had promised to

[36] The reader may well ask what means Peters had at his disposal for the purchase of such a claim. He had none, and apparently required none. The consideration held out to the heirs was an undertaking on Peters' part to obtain the consent of congress and of the present Sioux chiefs and within six months thereafter to deed back to the heirs 150,000 acres of land. Thus the enterprise was for Peters one of pure promotion from the beginning. See transcript of letter of Robert McClenahan to Peters, August 9, 1816, in Wisconsin historical library.

[37] Transcript of letter of Peters to Josiah Meigs, August 16, 1822, in Wisconsin historical library. No corroboration of these transactions has been found. Yet it is pertinent to note that in a letter to Samuel Browne of London, January 25, 1819, Peters stated that he had sent three messengers to secure the confirmation of the chiefs, all of whom failed, and that he himself then went out in 1817.

[38] Transcript of letter of Peters to the Reverend Williston, February 14, 1812, in Wisconsin historical library.

[39] Both statements were, of course, untrue.

[40] Another letter, to Peters' nephew, Governor John Peters, May 18, 1815, shows that this intercourse with the Sioux ambassadors took place at Washington in 1806. "I spent 4 months in Washington in 1806 with the embassadors of the Emperor to Congress, who kissed my hand saying. Good man come and occupy your land which was once Jonathan Carver's & teach us how to plough land, sow wheat and make it

settle on his land near the falls of St. Anthony and teach them the arts of civilization, as well as "show them the way to the God of Christians." But standing in need of help and of settlers on his land, Peters made these offers: to give a township of land, six miles square, to found a college for the instruction of the Indians and others in the Chippewa country; to give a second township to Trinity church for the support of its missionaries among the Indians; to give a third township for the support of the church's teachers among the red men; to give a fourth township for the use of Episcopal clergymen in "Chippeway Territory"; finally, to sell to Trinity, for the support of a cathedral church in New York City, a fifth township for $5,000, to enable Peters to visit the Sioux and establish peace among them.

The nub of these proposals evidently lies in their final clause. Peters was penniless, and his projected visit to the Sioux country would be an expensive undertaking. The early outbreak of war with England prevented any further action for several years. Hardly had it closed, however, before Peters was writing to his nephew [41] of his plan to set out in July following for "Petersylvania," the name he had given his putative colony. To this end he armed himself with a petition from Rufus Carver [42] to "the noble and Valiant Sachems of the brave and generous Naudowessie Nation," reciting the grant of their ancestors to Carver and asking their written permission for his heirs and assigns to settle, plant, and improve the land.

Not until the year 1817, however, did Peters carry out his intention of visiting the Sioux. Meanwhile, without waiting either for the confirmation of the Sioux chiefs or of congress, he began to institute schemes for the sale of the Carver land. The nature of the operations that ensued may be set forth in a single concrete illustration. In August, 1815, Peters deeded to one Benjamin Connor 500,000 acres in the Carver grant. Connor agreed to advance $1,500 to Peters to enable him to visit the Sioux coun-

Flour how to make logs into Boards, how to make axes & how to travel to and worship the Great Spirit and your shoes shall never be dirty nor shall you want beef, venison, fat Bears, beavers' tails fish nor fowl which our Emperor and Sachems will provide for you." Peters in reply pledged himself to comply with these requests.

[41] Letter of May 18, 1815, to Governor John Peters. Transcript in Wisconsin historical library.

[42] In the capacity of eldest son and administrator of the estate of Jonathan Carver.

try. He also undertook to sell as much of the half million acres deeded him as possible, paying to Peters one-half of the money received. At the end of four years, any land still unsold, with the exception of a single township, was to be reconveyed to Peters; and the $1,500 originally advanced by Connor was to be recouped from Peters' one-half of the proceeds of land sales.

This scheme might have worked successfully (it is apparent that a considerable number of sales were made) but for the profusion of rival claimants to the rights of Carver's heirs who now came forward. In November, 1815, one of Peters' hopeful dupes, Robert McClenahan, reported from Philadelphia that Benjamin Munn of New Jersey was selling lands in the grant under a title acquired from Rufus Carver.[43] The writer had seen the deed to Munn, which had been put on record in the recorder's office of Philadelphia. The city was ringing with the business, for it was evident to all that a fraud had been committed by someone. McClenahan had himself purchased three townships of land, and he appealed to Peters to bring suit at once against Rufus Carver and establish the validity of his title beyond dispute. McClenahan's alarm must have been still further increased when he learned, in response to this appeal, that Peters did not have the deed from Carver's heirs, but had left it with Samuel Harrison, who was now dead; and further when he was informed by an agent of Munn that the latter was in possession of the papers Peters had entrusted to Harrison, having bought them for $800.[44] To complete McClenahan's despair, Munn's agent affirmed that Peters had forfeited his claim upon the heirs of Carver by reason of failure to fulfill the conditions in consideration of which they had conveyed their right in the grant to him. Little wonder that McClenahan concluded by urging Peters to compromise with Munn the matter of their conflicting claims. This proposal Peters did not even deign to answer.[45] In Baltimore, also, agents of Peters and of Munn were at work, greatly to the bewilderment of the confiding townsmen. In July, 1816, one of them indignantly demanded of Peters an elucidation of the sit-

[43] Robert McClenahan to Peters, November 18, 1815.

[44] McClenahan to Peters, December 14, 1815. See also Connor to Peters, December 23, 1815.

[45] McClenahan to Peters, August 9, 1816.

uation. "As it now stands before me," he wrote, "there is certainly something rotten in the trunk of the biggest tree in that Territory."[46]

Such language, however emphatic, fell short of doing justice to the subject. For several of the Carver heirs shortly appeared in Philadelphia and repudiated both the claims of Munn and of Peters to the Carver grant; and their attorney inserted a notice in the press of the city warning the public against buying lands in Carver's purchase under the "pretended" title of either Munn or Peters thereto.[47] It is quite impossible from the scanty records which have been preserved to trace out the thread of truth in this maze of fraud. But one thing, at least, stands out with entire clarity: the Carver grant constituted a tempting prize for promoters, and Peters was but one of numerous speculators who sought to make money out of it.

In the spring of 1817 two parties, rival claimants of the grant, left New York intent on visiting and if possible winning the successors of the Sioux chiefs with whom Carver had dealt. One mission was composed of two grandsons of Carver, named King and Gunn, the other was led by Peters. The grandsons, according to Peters,[48] were sent out by a company of land speculators who had convinced them that the deed to Peters was void and that Rufus Carver as eldest son and administrator of his father's estate was sole inheritor of the grant. King and Gunn proceeded to Prairie du Chien and from there in July, 1817, went up the Mississippi in company with the party of Major Stephen H. Long of the engineer corps of the army.[49] Failing to accomplish their object of gaining the Indian confirmation of the Carver grant,[50] they returned to New York, meeting Peters' party, outward bound, a few miles above Green Bay on August 16.[51]

[46] J. Lewis Wampler to Peters, July 13, 1816.

[47] McClenahan to Peters, August 9, 1816.

[48] Transcript of a manuscript narrative (undated, but probably written in 1825) in Wisconsin historical library.

[49] Stephen H. Long, "Voyage in a six-oared skiff to the falls of Saint Anthony in 1817," in *Minnesota historical collections*, 2: 10 ff.

[50] *Ibid.*; William H. Keating, *Narrative of an expedition to the source of St. Peter's river, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, &c. performed in the year 1823, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, secretary of war, under the command of Stephen H. Long, major, U. S. T. E.* (Philadelphia, 1824), 1: 325.

[51] Diary of Willard Keyes, in *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 3: 349.

It is not entirely clear who Peters' financial backers were, although Willard Keyes, a young Vermonter in search of adventure who attached himself to the party somewhere in central New York, records in his journal that the associates of Peters were "agents from a company of merchants in New York," who had purchased the Carver grant from him.[52] A possible clue to unravel the situation is afforded by the action of Thomas Taylor, one of these associates of Peters on his westward journey. After proceeding under most arduous conditions of travel as far as Mackinac, Taylor abandoned the expedition and returned to New York.[53] Peters later explained that on Taylor's arrival at that city the Mississippi land company was "dissolved" by the secession of sixty of its one hundred subscribers, who objected to the company's defrauding Peters of his rights.[54] The remaining forty filled up the ranks of the company by selling the rights of the seceders to new subscribers, elected James Bell president, and sent Thomas Taylor to bring Rufus Carver from his Vermont home to New York where, "illiterate and poor," they wheedled him into deeding to them his father's grant. The company thereupon dispatched one Butler to Mackinac to bribe Michael Dousman and Robert Dickson to use their influence with Red Wing and Lefei, successors of the chiefs who had made the grant to Carver, to ratify the Carver deed, not to Peters but to James Bell and company, on the pretense that Peters had sold the land to the latter. Dickson accepted the overtures of Butler, whereupon the latter proceeded to pay him by drawing a bill for 12,000 pounds in his favor upon Peters! Peters of course repudiated the bill and undeceived Dickson, who expressed his regret over the deception and his firm friendship for Peters.[55]

This story rests only on Peters' authority, but it seems to render probable the conclusion that it was the group of New York associates styling themselves the Mississippi land company that financed Peters' journey; and that more astute men than Peters were scheming, by whatever methods, to win for themselves the splendid prize of the Carver grant.

52 Diary of Willard Keyes, in *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 3: 340.

53 *Ibid.*, 3: 348; transcript of Peters' journal, August 2, 1817, in Wisconsin historical library.

54 Transcript of narrative, undated, in Wisconsin historical library.

55 *Ibid.*

Whatever one may think of Peters' veracity there can be nothing but admiration for the courage and tenacity of will which led him, a man in his eighty-third year, to set forth from New York for the falls of St. Anthony in the summer of 1817. His associates, aside from Taylor, whose desertion at Mackinac has already been noted, were Constant Andrews, John Tuthill, and Willard Keyes.[56] Present day residents of the upper Mississippi valley may find instruction in considering what was involved in a journey from New York to St. Paul a century ago. From New York City to Albany Peters went by steamboat. Crossing New York by wagon, and thence by schooner on Lake Ontario, Niagara was reached in eleven days. Here and at Toronto (then called York), where Peters had a daughter, several days were spent. Leaving Toronto July 10, the little party proceeded northward across Ontario by wagon, "carriole," and bark canoe to the head of Georgian bay. Here they learned that the schooner in which they had intended to take passage had already sailed. Accordingly a rowboat was purchased for sixty dollars and a Frenchman engaged to pilot them to distant Mackinac. The boat carried, in addition to Peters' party of five, the Frenchman and his family, consisting of his squaw and three children. Of the hardships of such a journey it is scarcely necessary to speak. "We rowed and encamped every night on islands useful only for gnats and muskettoes for 360 miles," records Peters. "I know not whether the islands & rocks were more numerous than the musquittoes both were unnumerable." And in like strain Keyes writes of the first night on Lake Huron, "stop for

[56] Andrews, according to Peters, had essayed the journey a decade before, only to be made prisoner by the Indians. He settled at Black river falls, building there in the summer of 1819 probably the first sawmill in Wisconsin. He became enchanted with the place and in a letter to Peters (November 10, 1819, printed in *American state papers: public lands*, 4: 87) expressed his desire to live and die there. He is perhaps the first and almost the only settler whom Peters succeeded in locating on the Carver grant. Tuthill, like Andrews, remained in Wisconsin when Peters returned east, but nothing is known of his further career. Keyes was a young man from Newfane, Vermont, who on June 2, 1817, fared forth in search of fortune. In central New York he fell in with Andrews and by the latter was persuaded to join Peters' party. He bought a tract of land of Peters, and like the others remained at Prairie du Chien awaiting the success of Peter's enterprise. Despairing of this when two years had elapsed, he went down river in the summer of 1819 and a few years later became a founder of Quincy, Illinois. For his diary see *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 3: 339 ff., 443 ff.

the night on a small island inhabited chiefly by gnats, who received us gladly." What with mosquitoes, dangerous winds, and "foaming billows," the spirit of the octogenarian voyager must have been sorely tried. At Mackinac the travelers received a foretaste of the country toward which they were proceeding in the spectacle of thirty canoe loads of Sauk and Winnebago, nearly naked and painted so as appear "horridly frightful." Here, too, Peters reflected on the benighted condition of the village, "stocked very much with mullato Indian Children and Indians," and their need of a church and a school. At Mackinac the row-boat was sold and the Indian dismissed, and Peters, Andrews, Tuthill, and Keyes engaged passage to Prairie du Chien in a fur trader's boat. This stage of the journey, about six hundred miles, consumed the entire month of August. At this point the youthful Keyes reflects thus on his experiences since leaving his home in rural Vermont three months earlier: "Since that time what varying scenes have been presented to my view! scenes of terror and disgust, of admiration and delight, have alternately excited my attention. With admiration have I beheld the rare productions of Nature in these uncultivated regions; the verdant plains and varigeated hills and dales all clad in Nature's gayest livery without the aid of art, have filled my bosom with delight — On the other hand the tawny Savage of the wilderness, sculking in the thicket, besmeared with paint of various hues, and otherwise decorated to render them frightful, thrill terror through the breast of those unacquainted with their manners; and their mode of living and eating is disgusting to those who have any sence of decency or cleanliness."

The falls of St. Anthony was Peters' destination, but Prairie du Chien proved his final stopping point, for on arrival there Colonel Talbot Chambers, commander of Fort Crawford, professed absence of authority to permit him to enter the Indian country. For this, Peters was referred to Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois territory, in whose Indian superintendency Prairie du Chien was then included. Accordingly Peters took quarters at Prairie du Chien and passed the autumn and winter vainly awaiting the necessary permission to proceed. It never came, and after a nine months' sojourn Peters set out, in May, 1818, on the wearisome return journey to New York. He

started still hopeful of ultimate success and an early return, "having had private intelligence from several sources that are encouraging."[57] Shortly after his departure Red Wing came down to Prairie du Chien and, according to Peters' agents (Keyes and Andrews), acknowledged the grant to Carver and stated his willingness to confirm the deed made by his ancestors.[58] Similar optimistic reports were forwarded to Peters by Keyes and Andrews during the succeeding months; but the recognition by the federal government, essential to further progress, was not forthcoming and in the spring of 1819 Keyes, despairing of anything to come from the Carver grant, to the pursuit of which he had devoted two years of his life, turned his back upon Wisconsin and, proceeding down river, sought and in due time achieved fortune and prosperity in central Illinois.

Keyes had been an ardent admirer of Peters and believer in his grant, and with his disillusionment we may draw the curtain on the complex and now long-forgotten web of aspiration, intrigue, and deceit which grew out of the Indian deed to Carver given at the "Great Cave" on May 1, 1767. Peters lived on at New York until 1826, dying at last in poverty and want, as Carver had done before him, in the metropolis of the old world. In January, 1825, the house committee on private land claims made a report on the Carver grant effectually disposing for all time of any possibility that the government would ever validate any claims based upon it. But hope springs eternal, and thirty years later a grandson of Carver visited youthful St. Paul intent on the hopeful mission of gaining recognition of the grant to his grandfather.[59]

The story of the Carver grant has many sordid aspects, yet it revolves around that fundamental lure of the land which has chiefly created the nation to which we belong. If Carver and Peters were speculators and promoters so also were George Washington and Benjamin Franklin and hundreds of other worthies in the galaxy of American history. The contented mes-

[57] Diary of Willard Keyes, in *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 3: 362.

[58] Letter of Keyes to Peters, June 7, 1818, in *American state papers: public lands*, 4: 87.

[59] Harriet E. Bishop, *Floral home; or first years of Minnesota* (New York, 1857), 26.

sage of Constant Andrews from the heart of the Wisconsin wilderness in November, 1819, "Here I am happy to live; here I am willing to die," [60] but expresses the urge to become owners of the soil and developers of its natural resources which has impelled untold thousands into the western wilderness during the last three hundred years. The process of their going, and the transformation of the wilderness which resulted therefrom, has been in large part the history of America thus far.

To Jonathan Carver, who entertained imperial visions and who died of prosaic starvation, the whirligig of time has brought a marvelous vindication. In vision he saw the silent wilderness of interior North America the seat of a mighty civilization. "To what power or authority," he wrote in 1778, "this new world will become dependent, after it has arisen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the seat of Empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressive towards the West, there is no doubt but that at some future period mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses, and stately palaces and solemn temples, with gilded spires reaching the skies, supplant the Indian huts, whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies." [61] To those who should open the way for this civilization he foretold "emoluments beyond their most sanguine expectations." How amply these forecasts have been realized we of this generation are aware. Surely the time is at hand, nearly a century and a half after his death, for granting Carver's modest request that we "bestow some blessings and commendations" on him who first of the Anglo-Saxon race pointed out the way for the entrance of civilization into the upper Mississippi valley.

Milo M. Quaife

State Historical Society of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

[60] *American state papers: public lands*, 4: 87.
[61] Carver, *Travels* (1778 ed.), vii.

TRANSPORTATION AND TRAFFIC ON THE OHIO AND THE MISSISSIPPI BEFORE THE STEAMBOAT [1]

The period under review falls roughly between the admission of Kentucky and Missouri as states in the union. During this interval the Ohio river was the controlling factor in the westward movement. The close of the period marks in rough the passing of the flatboat as the characteristic type of river craft and the appearance of the steamboat in annually increasing numbers on the Ohio and the Mississippi.

In the decades around 1800, the emigrant crossing the mountains and expecting to use the Ohio river had a considerable range in selecting a place of embarkation. His choice depended upon several conditions. Zadock Cramer in his guide for emigrants, *The navigator*, 1811, suggests either Brownsville, Pittsburgh, or Wheeling.[2] Boat yards were early established at each of these towns, and by 1811 boats could be secured at New Geneva, Williamsport, Elizabethtown, and McKeesport on the Monongahela, at several places on the Youghiogheny, at the mouth of Big Beaver creek, and at Charles Town on the Ohio. Brownsville afforded the shortest route from the east, but one could never be sure of finding sufficient water for embarkation except in time of flood. Wheeling was the safer place, for boats could leave there at all seasons; but it was fifty-eight miles farther west from Brownsville and forty-five from Pittsburgh. Cramer, therefore, in consideration of the fact that Pittsburgh offered better accommodations for storing goods, recommends it as the best town from which to embark on the Ohio. In fact Pittsburgh held a strategic position in the settlement of the Ohio

[1] This paper was read at the twelfth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association in St. Louis, Missouri, May 8, 1919.

[2] Zadok Cramer, *The navigator: containing directions for navigating the Monongahela, Alleghany, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers; with an . . . account of these . . . waters . . . of their towns . . . &c . . . To which is added . . . an account of Louisiana, and of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, as discovered by . . . Captains Lewis and Clark* (Pittsburgh, 1811), 34 ff.

valley. Situated at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, it was at once the logical end of road transportation from Philadelphia and the east and the beginning of water navigation. For this reason Pittsburgh early attained that place of first importance which it has consistently held among Ohio river towns.

Having reached the "western waters" with his family and outfit, the emigrant's first interest was to secure further transportation. If his family and household goods were small and his purse light, he would probably join a fellow emigré, or would procure passage on a downstream craft. But as a general rule he would purchase a boat. After the voyage it could be sold or would be knocked to pieces and used in the construction of a house. The boat-builders would naturally be consulted. Christian Schultz, a traveler in 1810, observes that "boat building, boat buying and boat selling, seem to be part of the business of at least one half of the town [Pittsburgh]."[3]

After the sawmills reached the Monongahela country, boat-building was greatly simplified and, owing to the heavy demand for boats on short notice, the boat yards found profitable business. On February 13, 1788, this typical advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of Philadelphia: "Boats of every dimension may be had at Elizabeth Town, in the course of next spring and summer, at as short notice, and on as reasonable terms as at any place on said river."[4]

The primary requisite of the emigrant's craft would be its ability to carry downstream the emigrant's family and outfit. This fact controlled its construction. Before the revolution the

[3] Christian Schultz, *Travels on an inland voyage through the states of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and through the territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New Orleans; performed in the years 1807 and 1808; including a tour of nearly six thousand miles* . . . (New York, 1810), 126.

[4] Quoted in Archer B. Hulbert, *The Ohio river; a course of empire* (New York, 1906), 234. In the same newspaper for August 20, 1788, appears the following: "Boats for Sale. At Elizabeth-Town on the Monongahela, may now be had Kentucky boats of different dimensions; where also for the future, Boats of every construction and size may be had, at as low prices as any on these waters; To prevent the detention of travellers, so frequent on the river for want of boats, the proprietor has erected a Boat Yard on the premises, where timber is plenty, and four of the best Boat Builders from Philadelphia are constantly employed. . . Stephen Bayard, Proprietor On the Premises." *Ibid.*

Indian birch-bark canoe and the pirogue, or dugout, had answered every purpose on the Ohio, but by the end of the war the press of emigration was so great that necessity compelled the evolution of another type more adapted to the emigrant's purpose. The birch canoe was too easily punctured; the pirogue, cut from a solid log, was proof against puncture but was unstable in the water; and both were limited in carrying capacity. In the earliest pioneer days the raft built of rough or hewed logs, rectangular in shape and with sides two or three feet high, was generally used.[5] The poorer sort had no covering except a tent or awning for the family and stock, but the more substantial had strong bulwarks and were wholly or in part covered. With the coming of the sawmill there was gradually evolved the craft which best answered the emigrant's need. It was variously known as an "ark," "broad horn," "Kentucky boat," "New Orleans boat," "flatboat," "sneak box," and "raft."

The "ark" is supposed to have been first built by a Mr. Hudgen on the Juniata about the year 1793.[6] The best account the writer has found of the construction of a "Kentucky boat" is by Thomas Ashe, who traveled in the west in 1806 and purchased a "Kentucky boat" on the Monongahela.[7] He was much interested in this novel form of river craft and recorded in his journal the details of its construction. "An oblong frame is first made, perhaps forty feet long by sixteen wide. The four pieces forming this frame are generally from fourteen to eighteen inches square, mortissed so as to receive a number of bars across, on which are fastened thick planks with wooden pins — this forming the flat bottom of the boat. From the solid beams of this frame, rise several uprights, six feet high, to which boards are attached to form the ends and sills; after which the

[5] Hulbert, *The Ohio river; a course of empire*, 232.

[6] Thadeus M. Harris, "The journal of a tour into the territory north-west of the Allegheny mountains; made in the spring of the year 1803," in *Early western travels, 1748-1846. A series of annotated reprints of some of the best and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, descriptive of the aborigines and social and economic conditions in the middle and far west, during the period of early American settlement*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1904-1907), 3: 335.

[7] Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America performed in 1806, for the purpose of exploring the rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and ascertaining the produce and condition of their banks and vicinity* (London, 1808), 75.

boat is roofed over except a small space through which the hands can drop or enter. The whole represents an oblong apartment, both ends perfectly square, and nothing indicates the bow but the small open space, and holes in the sides, through which the oars work."[8] Mr. Ashe divided his "ark" into two apartments. The room next the stern he reserved for himself; the one forward was for his servants to cook, row, and keep a lookout in. The roof "served for the helmsman and as a quarter deck on which to parade. When I add to this," he says, "that I had a good chimney built in my boat, four windows made; that I laid in two coops full of chickens, other kinds of stores, spirits, coffee, sugar, etc., I need not tell you how completely I set off."[9]

J. F. L. S. Bradbury, traveling in 1809-1811, calls attention to the fact that "arks" are "all made of the same dimensions, being fifty feet in length, and fourteen in breadth; which last is limited, because it often happens that they must pass over the falls at Louisville, when the water is at a low state, at which time they must pass betwixt two rocks in the Indian schute, only fifteen feet asunder."[10] Bradbury gives the impression that all boats were of the same dimensions, but this can hardly be true, as almost every traveler comments on the diversity in shape and size.[11]

[8] Ashe, *Travels in America*, 75.

[9] *Ibid.*, 76.

[10] John F. L. S. Bradbury, "Travels in the interior of America in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811; including a description of upper Louisiana, together with the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Tennessee, with Illinois and western territories, and containing remarks and observations useful to persons emigrating to those countries," in *Early western travels*, 5: 301.

[11] "All the boats or barges, whether those in the Kentucky or Mississippi trade, or those which convey the families which go into the western states, are built in this manner. They are of a square form, some longer than others; their sides are raised four feet and a half above the water; their length is from fifteen to fifty feet; the two extremities are square, upon one of which is a kind of awning, under which the passengers shelter themselves when it rains." François A. Michaux, "Travels to the west of the Alleghany mountains, in the states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and back to Charleston, by the Upper Carolines . . . undertaken in the year 1802. September 24, 1801–March 1, 1803," in *Early western travels*, 8: 166. A description comparing well with that of Ashe is given by Schultz in 1807. "Kentucky boats are strong frames of an oblong form, varying in size from twenty five to fifty feet in length, and from ten to fourteen feet in breadth; they are built of stout square timbers, and, before they are sided and roofed in, have much the appearance of scows,

Schultz calls attention to the difference between "Kentucky" and "New Orleans" boats. The latter were always much larger and stronger, and the roof always covered the entire hull instead of a portion as was sometimes the case in "Kentucky boats." This difference in construction was due to the longer and more difficult voyage to which the "New Orleans boat" was subject. As a rule "Kentucky boats" bore an unsavory reputation, and emigrant guidebooks urge intending purchasers to examine closely the material and workmanship since, because of the abnormal demand, inferior lumber and hasty workmanship were often palmed off on the unwary.[12]

These boats were not so expensive to the emigrant and, when it is considered that his "broad horn" could be knocked to pieces and converted into a cabin, the investment was generally a good one. In the early days sawed lumber was very dear far down the Ohio and Mississippi, and the boat in that period actually increased in value as it floated westward. Mr. A. B. Hulbert says that the first schoolhouse in Cincinnati was made from a flatboat,[13] and many houses in that town, in Louisville, and elsewhere on the river secured their foundations from the heavy timbers of flatboats. In 1807, according to Schultz, a "Kentucky" or "New Orleans" boat would cost from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter the running foot,[14] and Bradbury in 1809 says that an "ark" carrying thirty-two tons could be purchased

excepting that the front part or bow has somewhat of a rake. The gunwales are generally from twelve to twenty four inches high, and from three to six inches thick; on the top of these are mortissed square joists of three or four feet in length, and four or five inches thick which are sided up like a house with ordinary boards; on the top of these studs are secured the foot of each rafter, over which the roof is laid, which likewise answers the purpose of main and quarter deck." Schultz, *Travels on an inland voyage*, 129 ff. This description was written several years before the one by Ashe — hence the difference in details of construction.

[12] Ashe, *Travels in America*, 69. Cramer says, "This egregious piece of misconduct should long before this time have been rectified by the appointment of boat inspectors at the different places boats are built. But as this has never been done it behooves every purchaser of a Kentucky boat, which is the sort here alluded to, to get it narrowly examined before the embarkation by persons who are well acquainted with the strength and form of a boat suitable for a voyage of this kind." *The navigator*, 1811, p. 33.

[13] Hulbert, *The Ohio river; a course of empire*, 233.

[14] Schultz, *Travels on an inland voyage*, 132.

for seventy-five dollars.[15] *The navigator* for 1811 estimates, "One [Kentucky boat] convenient for a family, between thirty and forty feet in length, costs from one dollar to one and a quarter per foot, making perhaps thirty-five dollars for a comfortable family boat."[16] This boat would be "well boarded up on the side, and roofed to within seven or eight feet of the bow. Exclusive of this expense, is the price of a cable, pump, and fire place, perhaps ten dollars more."

In the days before the steamboat, navigation had two sharply defined phases: downstream, which was comparatively easy, and upstream, which was exceedingly difficult. The emigrant in search of a new home was concerned only with the former. The whole problem consisted in keeping the "ark" in the current and in avoiding obstructions in the river. No attempt was made to improve upon the speed afforded by the current, which varied widely with the seasons, and it behooved the intending traveler to be ready to "catch the rise." The river was high in spring and autumn and low and sluggish in summer. The spring season began with the breaking up of the ice toward the end of February and lasted until June; the autumn rise began in October and was over by the first of December. Occasionally heavy summer rains would cause a "rise" and large boats could go down in safety, but early spring was the preferred time.

In clear stretches the flatboat might drift with the current, turning its end and sides alternately to the shore, but generally it was steered by a long swing oar in the stern and by two "sweeps" or oars forward.[17] The Ohio was not so difficult of navigation as the Mississippi. Michaux says, "Its current is free from a thousand obstructions that render the navigation of the Mississippi difficult, and often dangerous, where they have

[15] Bradbury, "Travels in the interior of America," in *Early western travels*, 5: 301.

[16] Cramer, *The navigator*, 1811, p. 34.

[17] Estwick Evans, "A pedestrian's tour, of four thousand miles, through the western states and territories, during the winter and spring of 1818. Interspersed with brief reflections upon a great variety of topics: religious, moral, political, sentimental, &c., &c.," in *Early western travels*, 8: 257; Harris, "Journal of a tour into the territory northwest of the Alleghany mountains," *ibid.*, 3: 335; Schultz, *Travels on an inland voyage*, 129; Hulbert, *The Ohio river; a course of empire*, 234.

not skillful conductors."[18] It was the custom to travel by night on the Ohio, but Michaux advises tying up at dusk on the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to Natchez. Submerged rocks, sand bars, reefs, "planters," "sawyers," "wooden islands" all necessitated constant diligence. Frequently flatboats running foul of a sand bar, and oars and poles failing, had to be warped off by tying a cable to a tree and winding it up on a reel on board.[19] "Planters" and "sawyers," or submerged trees whose roots had become firmly fixed in the mud of the channel, were particularly dangerous, the more so because the branches were often submerged and the danger not easily detected.

Another constant danger in the early days was from the Indians who haunted the north shore of the Ohio. They rarely attacked a flatboat in midstream, but would use their wiles to lure the unsuspecting boatmen to shore and murder them from ambush. This would be attempted by imitating a wild turkey; or, wrapped in a bear skin, a savage would appear on the river bank, enticing the boatmen to land and give chase. Better still, the Indians would persuade or force white renegades or captives to hail passing flatboats and plead to be rescued. Renegades would often tell the most pitiful stories, and it was always a question in the minds of experienced boatmen whether the appeal was genuine or false.[20]

Pirates, too, had their terrors, but not so much for the emigrant. These found their prey among the keelboatmen, or professional rivermen, taking cargoes down or up the river.[21]

[18] Michaux, "Travels to the west of the Alleghany mountains," in *Early western travels*, 8: 165.

[19] Hulbert, *The Ohio river; a course of empire*, 234.

[20] John May, in whose honor Maysville, Kentucky, was named, was killed in a battle which was precipitated by his answering the appeal of white renegade decoys. *Ibid.*, 141.

[21] Emerson W. Gould, *Fifty years on the Mississippi; or, Gould's history of river navigation. Containing a history of the introduction of steam as a propelling power on ocean, lakes and rivers . . . navigation of western rivers before the introduction of steam — character of the early navigators — description of first steamboats . . . their effect upon the settlement of the valley of the Mississippi . . . appropriations by congress for the improvement of western water ways . . . Mississippi river commission and its work. Rapid increase and decline of river transportation. Causes of the decline — destruction of steamboats on western waters — biographies of prominent steamboatmen* (St. Louis, 1889), 58.

Malaria and fever were common on the river and weakened or carried away many of the newcomers. In the summer mosquitoes were to be reckoned with, and fleas at all times. Among the diversions afforded by early travel in the west none was livelier than this last. All the travelers remember it vividly and record many unkind things about their quondam bedfellows.[22]

All this, however, was only the initial use of the great highway. Eventually the emigrant found his new home, built cribs and barns, and filled them with the increase of his land. A market for this surplus was necessary. Shut out of a market in the east by the long haul across the Alleghenies and the prohibitive freight rates of the Conestoga wagon trains, the westerner turned to the river in his need — and found his market in New Orleans and the Louisiana country.

As early as 1763, when Louisiana was ceded to Spain by France, $80,000 worth of deer skins and $4,000 of tallow came down from the up country.[23] Under Spain the trade increased rapidly; soon the fur trade at New Orleans amounted to $100,000, and lumber began to be shipped down the river for the Cuban sugar trade. In 1776 Messrs. Gibson and Linn [24] went down the Ohio and Mississippi to procure military stores for the American forces and brought back in the spring of 1777 one hundred and thirty-six bags of gun powder. But it was not until 1781 that anything approaching commercial intercourse was established between the Ohio country and New Orleans. In the spring of that year Messrs. Tardiveau and Honore [25] made the earliest trip from Brownsville to New Orleans. After this they established a regular trade between Louisville and Spanish ports on the Mississippi. By 1785 the settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky were shipping down the river sufficient produce to warrant several Philadelphia merchants in establishing agents in New Orleans to handle the trade.[26]

22 Michaux, "Travels to the west of the Alleghany mountains," in *Early western travels*, 8: 180.

23 *House executive documents*, 50 congress, 1 session, volume 20, no. 6, part 2, p. 180.

24 Gould, *Fifty years on the Mississippi*, 73.

25 Benjamin Casseday, *History of Louisville from its earliest settlement to the year 1852* (Louisville, 1852), 62.

26 *House executive documents*, 50 congress, 1 session, volume 20, no. 6, part 2, p. 181.

When Spain discovered the "secret clause" in the treaty of Versailles relating to the southern boundary of the United States, the Mississippi was closed to the western flatboatmen. This occasioned much dissatisfaction in the western settlements, but an illicit trade continued through the connivance of the Spanish officials. This trade was uncertain, however, and seizures were made from time to time. James Wilkinson was prominent in this trade and in 1789, as the result of an understanding with the Spanish officials in New Orleans, sent down the river from Louisville a flotilla of twenty-five flatboats loaded with the accumulated produce of the surrounding country.[27]

In 1795, by treaty with Spain, the river was again opened and a "place of deposit" assured at New Orleans. In 1798 the exports of the Ohio country were valued at $975,000 and were increasing about $300,000 annually.[28] In 1802 the shipments from Kentucky alone amounted to $1,182,864, and for the Ohio and Mississippi valleys about Bayou Manchac the value of the exports was $2,637,564.[29] The following table gives an idea of the growth in the New Orleans export trade from 1801 to 1807:[30]

1801	$3,649,322	1805	$4,371,545
1802	4,475,364	1806	4,937,323
1803	4,720,015	1807	5,370,555
1804	4,275,000		

In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1807 there arrived in New Orleans 1,840 flatboats, keels, and barges and that only 11 departed upstream.[31]

That the west produced a wide variety of products may be gathered from the lists in the "Pilot's books" at Louisville,[32] while the goods brought up the river varied even more in char-

[27] Frederic A. Ogg, *The opening of the Mississippi; a struggle for supremacy in the American interior* (New York, 1904), 441.

[28] *House executive documents,* 50 congress, 1 session, volume 20, no. 6, part 2, p. 181.

[29] *Ibid.,* 183.

[30] *Ibid.,* 185.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] Quoted in Cramer, *The navigator,* 1811, p. 295. During the period November 24, 1810, to January 24, 1811, 197 flatboats and 14 keels descended the falls of the Ohio, carrying: 18,611 barrels flour, 2,373 barrels whiskey, 3,759 barrels apples, 1,085 barrels cider, 323 barrels peach brandy, 15,216 pounds butter, 64,750 pounds lard, 6,300 pounds beef, 300 pounds feathers, 114,000 pounds rope yarn, 681,000 pounds

acter, as is indicated by the list or manifest of barges and keels arriving at Louisville.[33]

In 1814 arrivals at New Orleans were as follows:[34]

Flats	598	of	88,350 tonnage
Barges	324		
Steamboats	21	of	2,098 tonnage

The steamboats listed were three in number. The rapid growth of steamboat traffic may be seen in the table of arrivals at New Orleans in 1821:[35]

Flats, barges, and keels	52,750	tonnage
Steamboats 287	54,120	tonnage

The value of the produce received at New Orleans from the interior increased from $9,749,253 in 1815-1816 to $16,771,711 in 1818-1819.[36]

Thus in the years following the revolution there developed a traffic on the Ohio and Mississippi so considerable that it brought forth a type of river craft unique in conception and construction, and a class of professional rivermen. The "broad horn" was used by the prospective trader in the New Orleans trade, but it was the type of boat which never returned. Not even the giant strength of Mike Finn, the hero of the rivermen, and a crew as strong as he, could have forced such an unwieldly craft against the swift current of the Mississippi. The "ark" would be disposed of at the end of the voyage, and the return made either by ocean voyage to Philadelphia and across the mountains, or on horseback along the "Natchez Trace." A boat must be produced whose essential feature would be its possibilities in

pork in bulk, 20,000 pounds bale rope, 27,700 yards of bagging, 817 hams venison, 4,608 hams bacon, 14,390 tame fowls, 155 horses, 286 slaves.

[33] Casseday, *History of Louisville*, 139. During the three months ending July 18, 1814, there were twelve barges carrying 524 tons, and seven keelboats with 132 tons: 813 bales of cotton, 26 barrels and kegs of fish, 28 cases of wine, 1 bag and 1 barrel of allspice, 1 demijohn and 1 barrel of lime juice, 1 bale of bearskins, 28 boxes of steel, 438 hogsheads of sugar, 1,267 barrels of sugar, 1 barrel of fish oil, 2 bags of pepper, 28 bales of wool, 21 bales of hides, 453 bales of hides (dry), 1 barrel of rice, 5 barrels of molasses, 128 barrels of coffee, 29 barrels of indigo, 6 tons of logwood, 18,000 pounds of pig copper, 1 box of crockery. The estimated value of the whole was $266,015.

[34] *House executive documents*, 50 congress, 1 session, volume 20, no. 6, part 2, p. 189.

[35] *Ibid.*, 194.

[36] *Ibid.*, 191.

ascending the current. Thus only could goods be taken up the river to compete with the wagon trains from Philadelphia. This need was answered in the long, lithe keel boat.

The keel boat was first used on the Ohio in 1792 by Tarascon, Berthand, and company of Pittsburgh, and from that time rose steadily in favor as a common carrier for passengers and freight until superseded by the steamboat.[37] It differed in construction from a "Kentucky boat" principally in that its timbers or knees were built upon a small keel, from which circumstance came its name. "The boats are generally built from forty to eighty feet in length," observes Schultz, "and from seven to nine feet in width." [38] Large keel boats were generally known as "barges," and varied in length from seventy-five to one hundred feet, by fifteen to twenty feet in width, and had a carrying capacity of sixty to one hundred tons.[39] Forward was a mast which carried a large square sail whenever a favorable breeze was at hand. The craft was steered from the stern by a long swing oar, although this was controlled somewhat by the boatmen in the use of the setting poles. A walking board on either side ran the entire length of the craft. Keel boats were somewhat more expensive than flatboats, costing from two and a half to three dollars a running foot; barges were as high as five dollars a foot.[40]

With the current a steersman and two oarsmen were sufficient, but upstream six to eight hands were required for a small keel, and as many as fifty for a large barge.[41] Ascending the river one man was usually provided for every 3,000 pounds in freight. It is most difficult to visualize the tremendous labor necessary to force the keel boat against the current. Rowing, poling, towing, or warping played their part as conditions varied. The oars were used in deep water, but wherever possible the poles were preferred. On the walking boards extending the length of the boat the men would take their position near the prow. At the command "set," they would plant their poles firmly on the bot-

[37] Hulbert, *The Ohio River; a course of empire,* 113.
[38] Schultz, *Travels on an inland voyage,* 129.
[39] Gould, *Fifty years on the Mississippi,* 28.
[40] Schultz, *Travels on an inland voyage,* 132.
[41] *Ibid.,* 127.

tom and walk slowly toward the stern until, at the command "lift," they would return to the prow to repeat the operation. In swift water the change from stern to prow was made by the men in rapid succession instead of simultaneously. Wherever the nature of the shore allowed, towing was utilized; and when the wind was right the square sail forward was set. The labor was hard and incessant and progress was slow, fifteen miles a day being a good average. The trip from New Orleans to the falls of the Ohio was rarely accomplished under three months' time. Usually if a boat left New Orleans on the first of March and reached the falls in July it was considered a good voyage.[42]

The hard and strenuous life of the rivermen marked them as a class apart from their fellows. Constant and unremitting toil developed among them splendid physiques, and their consciousness of physical prowess made them reckless, daring in action, and bellicose in disposition. Strenuous in their labor, they were equally extreme in their recreation, and laxity of morals and proficiency in cursing were unfailing characteristics. For his playground the riverman had "Natchez under the Hill" — a veritable cesspool of human depravity and vice. Bradbury writes, "There is not, perhaps, in the world a more dissipated place. Almost all the Kentucky men stop here on the way to New Orleans, and as they now consider all the dangers and difficulties of their voyage past, they feel the same inclination to dissipation as sailors who have been long out of port, and generally remain here a day or two to indulge it."[43] The rivermen were great braggarts and delighted in extolling their prowess — their highest imaginative reach being to declare themselves "half horse, half alligator." The champion fighter of a crew wore a red feather in his cap, at once a symbol of superiority and a constant challenge to any doubter. Mike Finn, the champion of the river, is thus reported to have closed a speech of self-appreciation: "I can out run, out hop, out jump, throw down, drag out, and lick any man in the country. I'm a Salt River roarer, I love the wimmen, and I'm chock full of fight."[44] But profane, licen-

[42] Gould, *Fifty years on the Mississippi*, 44.

[43] Bradbury, "Travels in the interior of America," in *Early western travels*, 5: 16.

[44] *Western monthly review*, 1829, quoted in Gould, *Fifty years on the Mississippi*, 50.

tious, and belligerent as the keelboatman certainly was, this is but half the picture. He fiercely hated all shams and hypocrisy and would serve no "patroon" he could not respect. Driven from sunup to dusk, it was against the ethics of the fraternity to complain, and, at the winding of the horn in the morning, he sprang up, gulped his "fillie," and was ready to "stand to your poles, and set off."

Thus the "broad horn," and keel boat, and the rivermen played their part in the building of the nation. But their days were numbered. *The navigator* for 1811 sounds the first note of the new era in river transportation. "There is now on foot," it says, "a new mode of navigation on our western waters, particularly the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. This is with boats propelled by the power of steam. . . . A Mr. Roosevelt . . . has a boat of this kind now on the stocks at Pittsburgh of 138 feet keel, calculated for 300 or 400 tons burthen. . . . It will be a novel sight, and as pleasing as novel to see a huge boat working her way up the windings of the Ohio, without the appearance of sail, oar, pole, or any manual labour about her — moving within the secrets of her own wonderful mechanism, and propelled by power undiscoverable."[45] Cramer's imaginative description of the "novel sight" was fully realized. The steamboat did move against the current, and the day of the "broad horn" and keel boat was done.

W. Wallace Carson

DePauw University
Greencastle, Indiana

[45] Cramer, *The navigator*, 1811, p. 31.

THE OHIO VALLEY IN THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE WAR OF 1812

The war of 1812 is one of the most unsatisfactory episodes in American history. It was unpopular with a large part of the people of the United States and was not desired by the British. Its course was marked by disastrous and even disgraceful defeats as well as by brilliant victories, some of them quite undeserved. Its immediate outcome and the treaty of peace which brought it to an end were singularly indecisive. Had there been means of rapid communication in 1814 the last battle which occurred would not have been fought; had they existed in 1812 there might have been no war at all.

The efforts of historical writers in the United States to explain the significance of the war have been as unsatisfactory as the war itself. A widely accepted version that it was a "second war for independence" distorts both its inception and its results. There is no evidence whatever that Great Britain sought to reconquer the United States, nor did the war make us either more dependent upon Great Britain or less dependent than we were before save, perhaps, indirectly and in ways unforeseen on either side. Those who regard it wholly as a struggle to maintain the rights of American commerce and the dignity of American citizenship on the sea ignore the chronology of events. As Henry Adams pertinently remarks, "A nation which had submitted to robbery and violence in 1805, in 1807, in 1809, could not readily lash itself into rage in 1811 when it had no new grievance to allege; nor could the public feel earnest in maintaining national honor, for every one admitted that the nation had sacrificed its honor, and must fight to regain it. Yet what honor was to be hoped from a war which required continued submission to one robber as the price of resistance to another?"[1] The impulse to look elsewhere than to the outrages which England perpetrated

[1] Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1889-1891), 6: 113.

on the ships and sailors of the United States for the decisive cause of the war is strengthened by the notorious fact that New England, which more than any other part of the country was vitally interested in those ships and sailors, furnished the strongest opposition to the war. Adams himself, the most distinguished historian who has written upon the period, seems to attribute the war chiefly to the fact that "the youthful energy of the nation which had at last come to its strength under the shelter of Jefferson's peaceful rule, cried out against the cowardice of further submission, and insisted on fighting if only to restore its own self-respect."[2] This explanation, however, seems as vague as it is ironical, and leads one to ask whether "the youthful energy of the nation" did not have some more definite end in view than merely to strike out blindly in the *mêlée* to show that it could fight.

The best clue to the understanding of the war of 1812 is to be found in the situation existing in the Ohio valley. That section of the country, aided by elements in the south, virtually brought on the war. It did so on account of a crisis which culminated, not in 1807 as did our maritime grievances against England, but in 1811 and 1812, in the months which really matured the decision to appeal to arms. And in appealing to arms it had a perfectly clear and intelligible aim. That aim was nothing other than the conquest of Canada.

This view of the matter is not uncommon among Canadian writers, but, for the most part, they fail to make clear the underlying motives involved and to show how they worked out. By underestimating the maritime grievances of the United States, which undoubtedly paved the way for the triumph of the aggressive western element in the national councils, by conceiving the war as an unprovoked imperialistic attack on the part of the United States, and by magnifying the internal results of the war upon Canada, national tradition north of the border sometimes exalts it into the unmerited position of being the "making of Canada."[3] As a matter of fact, it had almost no effect upon the institutions of Canada and, far from being an unprovoked imperialistic attack upon the Canadians, it was an attempt of the

[2] Adams, *History of the United States*, 6: 115

[3] Arthur G. Bradley, *The making of Canada* (New York, 1908).

United States to solve a serious problem of the northwest. The failure of the attempt in its original form need not obscure the fact that the war, and constructive statesmanship in the ensuing years, actually did solve the problem.

The project of the conquest of Canada is manifest in the debate in the house of representatives upon the belligerent report of the committee on foreign relations presented on November 29, 1811.[4] Taking into account the natural tendency of public speakers to represent all wars they favor as defensive and to conceal schemes of aggression as likely both to create a public reaction and to expose their plans to the enemy, it is surprising to see how frankly the war party alluded to the conquest of Canada as the definite gain to be expected from a war with England. Peter B. Porter, chairman of the committee on foreign relations, suggested as possible "the destruction of British fisheries, of British commerce with America and the West Indies, and the conquest of Canada. 'By carrying on such a war at the public expense on land, and by individual enterprise at sea, we should be able in a short time to remunerate ourselves ten-fold for all the spoliation she [England] had committed on our commerce.' "[5] Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, declared, "This war, if carried on successfully, will have its advantages. We shall drive the British from our continent. I am willing to receive the Canadians as adopted brethren."[6] "I should not wish to extend the boundary of the United States by war," remarked Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, "if Great Britain would leave us to the quiet enjoyment of independence; but considering her deadly and implacable enmity, and her continued hostilities, I shall never die contented until I see her expulsion from North America, and the territories incorporated with the United States."[7] Henry Clay, speaker of the house, in the committee of the whole outlined a plan for the invasion of Canada and for the distribution of troops there. No wonder that John Randolph complained, "Ever since the report of the Committee on Foreign

[4] A lively and well-balanced account of this discussion is given in Adams, *History of the United States*, 6: 132 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, 6: 136.

[6] *Ibid.*, 6: 141.

[7] *Ibid.*, 6: 142.

Relations came into the House, we have heard but one word, — like the Whippoorwill, but one monotonous tone, — Canada, Canada, Canada."[8]

Most of the speakers quoted came from the Ohio valley. Their utterances represented the sentiments of their constituencies. Some, indeed, had been sent to congress in the interests of the pro-war element. Occasional articles in the western papers had been urging the possibility and the desirability of getting possession of Canada.[9] In Vincennes, the capital of Indiana territory, the fourth of July was celebrated in 1808 with a military display and a banquet at which Governor Harrison presided; among the toasts drunk, the following was conspicuous: "Peace with Great Britain if she will have peace — if not, Huzza for Canada."[10]

In explanation of the sentiment in favor of the conquest of Canada, it must be remembered that thirty-five years earlier the continental congress had hoped that the Canadians would join in the revolution and had conducted a long campaign for the "fourteenth colony."[11] George Rogers Clark, also, had had lively hopes of pressing home his conquest of the northwest with a campaign against the British by way of the Wabash, the Maumee, Detroit, and Canada.[12] As late as 1812 there were doubtless many in the United States who, ignorant of the intense loyalist sentiment promoted by refugees from the very revolution which had sought to win Canada and failed, thought of the invasion of Canada not as a conquest but as a liberation. Certainly there was little, if any, hostility to the citizens of Canada; the primary consideration was the destruction of the government of Great Britain in Canada.[13] Joined with this was the expectation of the union of the continent, north of Mexico, in a great, free republic.

It was not merely the dream of a greater republic, however,

[8] Adams, *History of the United States*, 6: 145.

[9] See for example the *Western Sun*, published at Vincennes, Indiana, January 18, 25, February 22, 1812.

[10] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1808.

[11] Justin H. Smith, *Our struggle for the fourteenth colony: Canada and the American revolution* (New York, 1907).

[12] *George Roger Clark papers*, edited by James A. James (*Illinois historical collections*, volume 8 — Springfield, 1912), 402 ff., 485 ff.

[13] See for example the speeches of Grundy and Johnson quoted above.

that stirred the inhabitants of the Ohio valley in the years preceding 1812. They had more practical and pressing matters to think of. The Indians were an ever-present menace which at any moment might set the whole frontier in a blaze, and back of the Indians the westerners saw the English in Canada.

The experience of the generation then in control of the Ohio valley was once voiced by Felix Grundy in the United States senate: "I was too young to participate in these [earliest] dangers and difficulties, but I can remember when death was in almost every bush, and every thicket concealed an ambuscade. If I am asked to trace my memory back, and name the first indelible impression it received, it would be the sight of my oldest brother bleeding and dying under the wounds inflicted by the tomahawk and the scalping knife. Another, and another, went in the same way! I have seen a widowed mother plundered of her whole property in a single night: from affluence and ease reduced to labor with her own hands to support and educate her last and favorite son — him who now addresses you. Sir, the ancient sufferings of the West were great."[14] That the sufferings of the Indians were even greater these men, of course, did not take into account; nor did they care to stop and reckon up the balance of right and wrong from the Indians' point of view. They were determined to hold the land upon which they had settled and to acquire possession of ever more and more. Their own advance seemed to them to be the natural order and the law of their life; the stealthy, deadly warfare of the Indians was a shadow across their path, creating a combination of fear and ferocity unintelligible to those whose lives and households are not in constant peril. Their only way out was to secure title to additional tracts of land by some form of purchase, make resistance hopeless for the Indians, and shove them on farther west and north.

The west, however, was firmly persuaded that the Indians north of the Ohio were receiving support from Canada and that confidence in this support might at any time precipitate a terrible war on the Indiana frontier. It was notorious that the In-

[14] James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861), 1: 140, quoted from the *Democratic review*, 3: 162.

dians had counted the English as their allies in the last preceding war, virtually ended by Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers in the immediate neighborhood of an English fort.[15] There was considerable evidence that the same situation prevailed in 1810, 1811, and 1812. The Hudson's Bay company, "the great company" as it was called on the frontier, carried on an active trade with the tribes in Indiana territory as well as with those north of the Great lakes. From Malden, across the river from Detroit, Indians came back with goods for which furs had been exchanged, and also with gifts and firearms. Warriors in Indiana territory were known to possess quantities of guns and ammunition, most of which were supposed to have come from Canada. After the battle of Tippecanoe, as after that of Fallen Timbers, British weapons were found, this time in the village abandoned by the Prophet's followers. Reports to the above effect circulated freely in the Ohio valley and were forwarded to Washington; they were universally believed and doubtless often exaggerated.[16]

British officials denied that they encouraged the Indians in their hostility to the citizens or the government of the United States. Sir James Craig, the military governor-in-chief and commander in Canada, 1807-1811, states that his exertions had constantly been directed to prevent a rupture between the Indians and the United States. He also communicated with J. P. Morier, the British *chargé d'affaires* at Washington, telling him of the hostile feeling among the Indians and giving him authority on his behalf to warn the United States of the probability of an Indian outbreak. That in 1811 government officials in Canada made sincere efforts to prevent the outbreak of an Indian war in Indiana territory must be accepted as an historical fact.[17]

It seems certain, none the less, that much of the moral support,

[15] Report of Major General Anthony Wayne to the secretary of war, August 28, 1794, *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1: 491. See also report of December 17, 1794, *ibid.*, 1: 525.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1: 797 ff., especially 799, 776 ff.; *Annals of the west*, compiled by James Handasyd Perkins, published by James R. Albach (Cincinnati, 1846), 511.

[17] *American state papers: foreign relations*, 3: 453, 462; William Kingsford, *The history of Canada* (Toronto, 1887-1898), 8: 78; *Annals of the west*, 511; *Documents relating to the invasion of Canada and the surrender of Detroit, 1812*, edited by Ernest A. Cruikshank (*Publications of the Canadian archives*, number 7 — Ottawa,

the guidance, and the supplies for Tecumseh's movement came from Canada. If the British officials tried to prevent an Indian war south of the boundary in 1811, so did Tecumseh, for, as he naively showed at Vincennes, he wanted to postpone all action till the completion of a confederacy which should include the southern Indians; nothing could have been further from his desire than the battle at Tippecanoe.[18] The Indians knew of the friction between the United States and Great Britain and of the repeated occasions after 1805 when war seemed imminent between the two powers. To avoid Indian warfare in the Ohio valley until the greater conflict broke out and then to throw the combined strength of the northern and the southern Indians and the British against the United States was a policy dictated to all three by the most elementary common sense. Tecumseh's attempts to carry out such a plan entitles him to respect; the proposal of any other policy by an English official in Canada would have been a sign of either impractical humanitarianism or lack of intelligence — in any case, of incompetency. The understanding between the English and the northern Indians, and the chief obstacle in its successful execution — the danger of a premature and regrettable Indian outbreak — are alike indicated by the doubt expressed on February 27, 1811, by Isaac Brock, administrator of Upper Canada, of the effectiveness of "our cold attempt to dissuade [the Indians from making war] after giving such manifest indications of a contrary sentiment by the liberal quantity of military stores with which they were dismissed."[19]

The indignation of the inhabitants of the Ohio valley at the alliance between the British in Canada and the Indians was as inevitable as the alliance itself. With their acute consciousness of what an Indian war meant to them, they were even less in-

1912); Lady Matilda Edgar, *General Brock* (*Makers of Canada*, volume 9 — Toronto, 1910), 149 ff., 175 ff.; Ferdinand B. Tupper, *Life and correspondence of Major General Sir Isaac Brock* (London, 1845), 79.

[18] Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1915-1919), 1: 185.

[19] Tupper, *Life and correspondence of Major General Sir Isaac Brock*, 80. Brock also wrote, in the letter quoted, "I lament to think that the Indians retired from the council, in which they declared their resolution of going to war, with a full conviction that, although they could not look for active coöperation on our part, yet they might rely with confidence upon receiving from us every requisite of war."

clined to look at things from the Canadian than from the Indian point of view. They officially urged the Indians to remain neutral in case of a war between England and the United States,[20] a well-intentioned piece of advice, doubtless, but one which the Indians could not adopt without giving up their only hope of successful defense, and one which, in the event mentioned, it would be utterly impossible for them to carry out. With far greater depth of feeling the Ohio valley thought that the English in Canada should keep hands off while the Indians in the northwest were being disposed of. It was incensed that the racial solidarity of the whites against the Indians should not be maintained, even though it involved the surrender by the Canadian officials of their most potent weapon against the expected hostility and probable military superiority of the United States. That of two warring civilized communities one should expect the other to forego the advantage of an alliance with savages is as natural on the one side as the fulfillment of the expectation is impossible on the other. As a matter of fact neither British officials nor Canadians wanted war with the United States; they had nothing to gain by it, and might lose much. But in grooming the Indians for a probable, even though undesired war, they were exercising the most natural and justifiable foresight. This in turn only strengthened the feeling in the United States that the conquest of Canada was necessary to the security of the northwestern frontier.

How the policy of the national government under Jefferson and Madison to extinguish Indian titles by successive purchases of land for future sale to settlers, and the execution of that policy in Indiana territory by Governor William Henry Harrison in the face of the counter-efforts of Tecumseh, led to an intensely strained Indian situation in 1811; how the vague attitude of the war department and its half-way measures and instructions left Harrison uncertain what to do, until circumstances and the pressure of public opinion at Vincennes led him to make a hesitant advance in force into newly purchased land; how, when he finally reached the neighborhood of the Indian village of Prophetstown, the storm center, the difficult decision between peace and war

[20] Letter of William Hull to the secretary of war, November, 1807, *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1: 745.

was taken out of his embarrassed hands by rash leaders among the Indians who threw to the winds the larger plans of the absent Tecumseh and made a night attack upon the camp of the whites on the Tippecanoe — all this has been detailed so fully by others that it need not be described here. The wild onslaught in the early morning (November 7, 1811) nearly succeeded, but the governor and his troops, on the whole, acquitted themselves well and beat back the Indians. The losses, however, were heavy and the army spent twenty-four anxious hours on guard in its camp. Then Harrison destroyed the abandoned village of the Indians and returned unopposed to his base further south, though the army suffered sorely from the loss of most of its supplies. Such was the action which Tecumseh, on his return from his visit to the southern Indians, deprecated and minimized in his partially successful attempt to prevent the immediate continuation of hostilities.[21] Some Canadian writers take the same view; one historian has even maintained that "General Harrison was surprised and defeated at Tippecanoe near Vincennes with the loss of nearly a fifth of his force."[22] In the United States, though Harrison's enemies made his conduct of the campaign and the battle the subject of bitter attacks, contemporary opinion and, for the most part, subsequent writers hailed the battle as an "important victory."

Harrison, however, did not have the means to follow up the battle of Tippecanoe with adequate military occupation of the frontier, nor did the national government take the vigorous measures it unquestionably should have taken. Tecumseh's plans also had gone awry and throughout 1812 Indian raids harried the frontier and threw the inhabitants of Indiana into great distress.[23] "We were in fine spirits," writes a settler in the

[21] For the campaign and the battle of Tippecanoe see Adams, *History of the United States*, 6: 90 ff.; Esarey, *History of Indiana*, 1: 181 ff.; Homer J. Webster, "William Henry Harrison's administration of Indiana Territory," in *Indiana historical society publications*, 4: 251 ff.; John B. Dillon, *History of Indiana from its earliest explorations by Europeans to the close of the territorial government in 1816, comprehending a history of the discovery, settlement, and civil and military affairs of the territory of the U. S. northwest of the river Ohio, and a general view of the progress of public affairs in Indiana, from 1816 to 1856* . . . (Indianapolis, 1859), 418 ff.

[22] Bradley, *The making of Canada*, 282.

[23] *American state papers: Indian affairs*, 1: 798 ff.

Whitewater valley in eastern Indiana, "until the battle was fought at Tippecanoe by General Harrison and the Indians. After that, we lived in continual fear; . . . we were then few in numbers and completely in the power of the enemy."[24] Yet the battle had given the west a sense of action and a taste of victory; the Indian depredations which ensued increased the demand for a war which would destroy forever the fighting force of the Indians and the power of the English in Canada to support them.

The universal determination of the west to safeguard its frontier by the conquest of Canada was the one clean-cut factor in the confused situation out of which came the war with England. It turned the scale when the balance might otherwise have hung even between grievances against England and indignities suffered from Napoleon. It won the day for war measures at a time when there was much to indicate that patience and endurance for a little while longer would end our other troubles.

The progress and the outcome of the war belied the expectations of Henry Clay and others who looked for an easy victory. The "conquest of Canada" proved a fiasco. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why it sometimes receives scant recognition as a motive of the war. But the demand of the Ohio valley for security of its frontier was fulfilled by two developments: first, the losses inflicted upon the Indians during the war, and second, the limitation of armaments along the United States-Canadian boundary after the treaty of peace.

The Indians, as had been foreseen on both sides, proved a terrible and an effective ally of Great Britain. But the war broke their strength and deprived them of their greatest leader. Though we are not concerned in this discussion with the southern Indians and the Florida boundary, the crushing defeats inflicted upon the Indians in the old southwest were among the most important events of the time. In the northwest single engagements probably played a less important part than the general demoralization of the Indians and the destruction of food supplies. These, added to the ever-present hardships and uncertainties of

[24] Mrs. Rebecca Julian, in Andrew W. Young, *History of Wayne county, Indiana, from its first settlement to the present time; with numerous biographical and family sketches* . . . (Cincinnati, 1872), 66.

Indian life, played havoc. Moreover, the Indians who remained south of the Great lakes at the close of the war no longer got support from Canada. The demand that a region between the Ohio and the Great lakes be set aside as an Indian dominion under the guardianship of the English was presented to the American commission in the peace negotiations, but was not entertained by them and was dropped without the consideration of any substitute provision save amnesty for actions during the war.[25] Only two alternatives were left to the Indians of the northwest: migration to Canada, where some of them were provided for, or submission to the United States government. The frontier east of the Mississippi was never again seriously endangered by them.

It is conceivable that the revolution and the war of 1812 might have been only the beginning of a series of boundary conflicts of the European type between the United States and the British empire in Canada. That this has not been the case is due in part to the extraordinary fact that statesmen on both sides correctly interpreted this phase of the war of 1812. When John Quincy Adams, United States minister at London, sent word that England was contemplating an increase of her naval force on the lakes traversed by the boundary line, the secretary of state, James Monroe, wrote (November 16, 1815) that President Madison authorized Adams to propose a mutual limitation of armament. After several conferences with Lord Castlereagh, Adams submitted to him this note (March 21, 1816) which deserves to rank with our most famous state papers:

It is the sincere wish and, so far as depends upon them, the determined intention of the American Government, that the peace so happily restored between the two countries should be cemented by every suitable measure of conciliation and by mutual reliance upon good faith far better adapted to the maintenance of national harmony than jealous and exasperating defiance of complete armor. . . . The increase of naval armaments on one side upon the lakes, during peace, will necessitate the like increase on the other, and besides causing an aggravation of useless expense to both parties must operate as a continual stimulus of suspicion and of ill will. . . . The moral and political tendency of such a system must be to war and not to

[25] Adams, *History of the United States*, 8: 268, 9: 18 ff.

peace. The American Government proposes actually to reduce to the same extent, all naval armaments upon these lakes. The degree to which they shall be reduced is left at the option of Great Britain. The greater the reduction, the more acceptable it will be to the President of the United States; and most acceptable of all, should it be agreed to maintain, on either side, during the peace, no other force than such as may be necessary for the collection of the revenue.[26]

Later, the British minister at Washington, Charles Bagot, was given authority to conclude such an agreement with the government of the United States. This was done through an exchange of notes between Bagot and Richard Rush, the acting secretary of state (April 28-29, 1817). It was specified that the naval force to be maintained by each power upon the lakes should be confined to one vessel on Lake Ontario carrying one eighteen-pound cannon, two such vessels on the upper Great lakes, and one on Lake Champlain. At President Monroe's instance, this agreement was approved by the United States senate on April 16, 1818. It was then formally proclaimed by the president under date of April 28, 1818,[27] and in spirit has been observed by both countries ever since. The attitude thus adopted in naval armament has prevailed in military armament also, and the boundary which promoted war in 1812 has helped to promote more than a hundred years of peace by its challenge to reliance upon good will and good faith.

Christopher B. Coleman

Chicago, Illinois

[26] See *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Worthington C. Ford (New York, 1913-1917), 5: 498 ff. for similar statements of Adams.

[27] James D. Richardson, *A compilation of the messages and papers of the presidents, 1789-1897* (*House miscellaneous documents*, 53 congress, 2 session, volumes 36-46 — Washington, 1895-1896), 2: 36. A full account of the agreement and of the correspondence concerning it, as well as of its subsequent history, with ample quotation of documents, was printed in the "Report of the Honorable John W. Foster, secretary of state, in response to senate resolution of April 11, 1892, relative to the agreement between the United States and Great Britain concerning the naval forces to be maintained on the Great lakes," *Senate executive documents*, 52 congress, 2 session, no. 9 (December 7, 1892). This document, with an introduction by James Brown Scott, has been published by the Carnegie endowment for international peace as Pamphlet number 2, *Limitation of armament on the Great lakes* (Washington, 1914).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Journal of a British Officer during the American Revolution

The following journal was found among the papers of Mrs. N. W. Moore, of St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada, after her demise. Mrs. Moore's daughter, Mrs. A. Breese Morris, of Madison, Wisconsin, rescued the document as it was being thrown away. She has kindly consented to have it published.

The manuscript consists of four double sheets of paper about ten by seven inches in size; the handwriting is very distinct, eighteenth century in appearance. The writer was evidently well educated, a man of family and of some wealth. By consulting the "Order book" of General Howe, in *New York historical collections*, 1883, page 572, it has been ascertained that the author of the diary was Captain William Haslewood of the Sixty-third British infantry. There is every reason to believe that he was an actor in the events he describes.

The Sixty-third infantry was raised in 1756 as the second battalion of the Eighth or King's Own regiment, and was recruited largely in Gloucestershire; in 1758 it became a separate regiment. Among its first officers was Ensign John Haslewood, commissioned March 26, 1758. In all probability the given name was misprinted in the *Army list*, since June 26, 1759, Lieutenant William Haslewood's name appears among the regiment's officers, and Ensign John's disappears. Ten years later (September 16, 1768) the lieutenant obtained the next grade, that of captain-lieutenant; from this rank he was promoted May 25, 1772, to a captaincy. By 1777 he had mounted the ladder, so that he was second in the list of captains. Had Captain Nesbitt been promoted to a majority, as was expected, Captain Haslewood would have been the senior captain. The former being "treated very ill" by the commanding general, the author of this diary felt himself aggrieved and, according to the custom of the time, sold his commission and retired.

The Sixty-third regiment saw service in Guadeloupe during 1760 and 1761. Thereafter it was in garrison in Ireland until transported in 1775 to Boston. Nothing is known of the life of Captain Haslewood after he resigned from the British army. From his own account he was an officer of ability, at one time (November, 1777) in command of his regiment. His diary is almost wholly military in character; it corroborates many well-known facts about the movements of the British and continental armies and adds to our interest in the battle of Bunker Hill, the siege of Boston, the campaign of the Hudson, and the operations around Philadelphia. The finding of such a manuscript, one hundred and forty years after it was written, is an incident that feeds the eternal hope that ever springs in the breast of the historical investigator for more such hidden treasures.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

On the 7th. April 1775 the 63d Regimt. with three others and a Regimt. of Light Cavalry embarked on board Transports at ye Cove of Cork. sail'd the 28th. for Boston, and arrived the 13th. June In Boston Harbour [1] the Regt. landed and encamped on Boston Common, about 10 oClock, on the 14th. — General Gage being informed by some of the Friends to Government that the Rebels had thrown up a Work at Charles Town which Commanded the Town of Boston He thought proper on the 17th. to send over a Body of Troops to destroy it, the 1st. Battalion of Marines, 5th, 52d. 38th. 43d and 47th. Regimts. with the Grenadiers and light Infantry were ordered for this service. they embarked about 12 oClock attacked the Work named *Bunker Hill* about 2. took it about four with about thirty Prisoners, our loss on the occasion was near sixteen Hundred kill'd and wounded 94 of whom were Officers the loss the Rebels sustained is unknown to us, about 6 oClock the 63d Regimt. and 2d Battalion of Marines were orderd over to Charles Town in order to support the Troops there but the affair was over before our Arrival, we remain'd encamped with the other Troops near Bunker's Hill till the 22d, on the 23d the 63d & 23d Regimts. with the 2d Battalion of Marines struck their Tents at Charles Town, and embarked on Board Transports in order to attack a strong Body of the Rebels posted on Dorchester Neck (nearly opposite C Town) but the General having Intelligence

[1] The journal of Colonel Stephen Kemble, deputy adjutant general for the British army in Boston, brother-in-law of General Gage, mentions the arrival at Boston of the Thirty-fifth, Forty-ninth, and Sixty-third regiments, with one regiment of dragoons, in the night of June 12-13, 1775. *New York historical collections*, 16: 43.

that they were prepared for us with a numerous Army, the Expedition was declined. We disembarked again at Boston and encamped.....
8th. July a party of Rebels consisting of about 500. attacked the Subalterns Piquet at Brown's House and burn't it (this Piquet was detached from the Line Guard on Boston Neck) Monday 10th. a Party of Rebels embarked on board Whale-Boats in the Night took a number of Sheep and Oxen off Long Island belonging to the Admiral, every Person rejoiced at it, but concerned for about 40 Natives they took Prisoners with them, who put themselves under our protection, as without doubt they will be very cruelly treated. Wednesday a great Cannonading heard from a Man of War stationed off Long Island occasioned by the Rebels setting fire to a beautifull House thereon. Thursday part of the Royal Irish, 40th. and 44th. Regimts. landed from New York, poping shots from the Rebel's Musketry at our Lines *Boston Neck* 4 oClock in the Morng 20th. July in the Morning the light House set on fire by the Rebels, 29th. the Rebels attacked the advanced Guard at Charles Town kill'd 2 Men wounded 4. On Sunday Morns the first Brigade of Artilery paraded round the Common and practiced a few Manoevers, at 1 oClock same Night the whole Line was order'd out, some to burn the Town of Roxborough and others to land in different Places & return at Day break. The Troops at Charles Town were also out. 4 officers wounded a few Men kill'd and wounded. General Grant [2] arrives from England this Evening after seven weeks passage. This Morning [31st] a party of Rebels landed again at the light House attacked an Officers guard of Marines consisting of 30 men, Kill'd the Officer and Serjeant, took away 16 Carpenters (who were sent there to repair the light House) and all the Marines Prisoners. the Rebels made the attack with 16ten Whale Boats each containing 16ten Men. 2d Aug. Captain Philliphs 35th. Regiment wou[n]ded by one of his own Sentinels going his Rounds at the Line Guard.[3]
Saturday August 19th. 8 Cows came Into Us from the Rebels at Boston neck Guard and were disposed of In the following Manner Viz. one to each Bastion, one to the officers thereof, & the remainder for the use of the Garrn. a thirty two pounder burst kill'd a Bombadier, and wounded a Matross, and a light Infantry Man of the 49th. Regt.

[2] General James Grant was the officer who in September, 1758, was defeated and captured at Fort Duquesne by the French garrison at that post. He served through the first years of the American revolution, commanding a brigade at the battle of Long Island and holding prominent positions in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown and also in the Jersey campaign. In 1779 he was sent to the French West Indies.

[3] Captain Erasmus J. Philips of the Thirty-fifth infantry was killed at the battle of Princeton.

Sunday 27th. about one oClock In the Morning the Rebels made a sally on our out post whilst the Relief was going, wounded 2 light Infantry Men of the 49th. and one of the 45th. Regimts.

About the 7th. Septr. a Chain of Rebel Works nearly finished and Fleches opposite to the Lines at the Neck.[4] Embrasures and several Cannon mounted by 22d. A Soldier of the 4th. Regt. had his Leg shot off going to mount Guard, and Capt. Paulet 59th. Regimt. shared the same fate as he was standing by the Guard House fire 5th. Octr. Corpl. Atmore 63d. Regt. shot through the Body going to mount the Line Guard at the Neck.

10th. Novemr. 600 Men of the Lt Infantry from Charles Town side landed under cover of a Man of War and some Gondolas under *Mount Pizga.* (a strong Redoubt belonging to the Rebels near Cambridge)[5] & brought off fifteen Head of Cattle. only one Man wounded, many of the Rebels came down to oppose the Troops — landing and reembarking — but were repulsed. By a Deserter who came into Us next Day we were informed that the Rebels had 9 Men kill'd and eleven wounded. Genl. Clinton Commanded this Detachment. Some time In Augst. the Rebels sent out Gondolas by Night, fired at our Encampment and at the Town without doing Us any damage, one of their Guns burst and destroy'd five or six of them.

9th. Jan'ry 1776 the Rebels sent out a Party on the Charles Town side about 8 oClock at Night, burnt several Houses, took away five Artificers and a Serjt. of the 10th. Regimt. Prisrs. Lt. Seix's[6] Boat ran on Shore near the light House with a Corpl. and six Soldiers & 1 Sailor in Her whom the Rebels made Prisoners. Serjt. Livermore of the 63d Regt. and 5 Privates of the 65th. were taken Prisrs. by the same accident near Boston Neck Block House. A Battery erected at Bartons Point. Redoubts on the Common

26th. Jan'ry 1776 came In at the Line Guard a Deserter from the Rebels who informed us that Quebeck was attacked by Genl. Montgomery and that he was repulsed with the loss of 200 kill'd and wounded and three Hundred taken Prisrs. Genl. Montgomery amongst the slain.

15th. Febry 12 Companies of Grenadiers and light Infantry crossed the Ice at the Neck opposite the Block House burned several Houses at Dorchester Neck, part of the 64th. Regimt. landed on that side next Fort William burnt several Houses and took six Prisoners. 2d. March the Rebels opened two Mortar Batteries at Fibs's Farm,[7] and one at Rox-

[4] A flèche is a salient outwork with two facets and an open gorge.

[5] The Americans had dubbed Prospect Hill, to which they had retreated after the battle of Bunker Hill, Mount Pisgah.

[6] Lieutenant Michael Seix was an officer in the Sixty-fourth regiment.

[7] Phips' Farm, so called for Governor Spencer Phips, royal colonial governor, was

borough, and Bombarded the Town for three Nights but did little execution.

17th. In the Morning all the Troops embarked unmolested and saild for Nantasket Road, a few Days afterwards Castle William blown up and destroy'd as also the I[s]land abandoned by our Troops. 27th the last Fleet of Troops sail'd for Halifax, arrived In the Harbour of Halifax about the 7th of April. Sail'd from Halifax and arrived at *Sandy Hook* 3d July, landed on Staten Island the 7th. July. The Troops without opposition landed on *Long Island.* 21st. August. marched a few Miles up the Country and encamped In Soldiers Tents. on the 27th Augst. our Troops engaged and repulsed the Rebels with Great Slaughter In a Wood near Brook land Genl. Sullivan and Lord Sterling taken Prisr. a few Days afterward the Rebels abandon the Island and retreat over Brookland Ferry to New York. On the 15th. Septr. Some Troops landed on York Island under cover of two Frigates but few Men kill'd, the Rebels retreated toward Kings Bridge a skirmish happend that night, and the Light Infantry in pursuing farther than was intended lost many Men by a party of Rebels in Ambush, had not the Grenadiers luckily arrived to their support most of them would have been cut to pieces, the Rebels abandoned the Town of New York the same Night the Troops Landed, and there were many inhabitance therein, and I am convinced many of them Rebels for on the 21st Sept. at 2 oClock In the Morng The Town was set on fire, whereby about one fourth of it toward the Norward was consumed with the old Church notwithstanding the utmost pains was taken to prevent it spreading.[8] *Fort Washington* taken the 16th. Novemr. by Lord Percy and Genl. Knyp[h]ausen three thousand Prisr. taken therein — on the 24th. Novemr. the 63d Regimt. with many others under the Command of Genl. Clinton embarked on board Transports at New York saild down the East River through *Hell Gate* into the Sound, came to an anchor off New London, on the 7th Decemr. arrived In Rhode Island Harbour, all the Troop landed there at eight, that Night without opposition and lay on their Arms all Night, next Day pitched Tents but such a snow fall that it was with great dificulty the Troops kept themselves warm. tho' great fires were made. about five Days after

at this time frequently spoken of as Lechmere's Point. It was part of what is now East Cambridge.

[8] For a contemporary account of the New York fire, see Kemble's journal, in *New York historical collections,* 16: 89. It is now the consensus of opinion that the fire started by accident. James Grant Wilson, *Memorial history of New York City* (New York, 1892), 2: 526 ff. The old church was Trinity, at the end of Wall street. It was built in 1696, burned in 1776, rebuilt in 1788-1790, and reconsecrated March 25, 1790. For a sketch of the ruins after the fire see Morgan Dix, *History of Trinity church* (New York, 1898), 1: 392.

landing the Troops were Quarter'd on the Inhabitance. I was Quarter'd at Jn° Slocum's a Quaker,[9] till Christmas Day when I was removed to a Butchers near Quaker Hill, from thence I a few Days afterwards I was order'd With my Comp^{y}. about two Miles back, my Quarters were at a M^{r}. Taylor's from Jamaca

This is a most delightfull Island and on our arrival it abounded with every thing at a very resonable rate, we had seven Miles to march to mount Guard, at Bristol Ferry.

23^{d}. Febry 1777 the Rebels landed about 300 Men on the Flat Grounds near Howland's Ferry. but on the appearance of our Troops going to oppose them they reimbarked, the same Day they sent a Galley mounting 2 Eighteen 2 twelve & 4 six Pounders fired many shot at the Guard but did no execution. Cap^{t}. Brady of the the Artilery brought two six pounders to bear on Her with whom He shot away her Mast and put near 30 shot in Her Hull, six Rebel Deserters came into Us. 1st March a forraging Fleet of 300 Men were sent to Fisher's Island a few leagues distant from Rhode Island they brought back but few Cattle and about 100 Sheep . . . 14th. 1777. Cap^{t} Brady of the Artilery with two Field pieces destroyed a Galley which run ashore the preceeding Night mounting 2-18^{teen} Pounders and 16^{teen}. Swivels a Soldier of the 43^{d} Reg^{t}. swam on Board & took possession of her before a Canoe could be procured for that purpose. 30 Stand of Arms and Pistols. on board.

16th. March another forraging party sail'd to a small Island and brought off some Hay 16th. a Galley dismasted

20th. the rack of the Galley towed off by the Rebels In the Day Time. April 4th Its reported that a French Frigate arrived at Boston with 20000 stand of Arms and a French Gen^{l}. to Command the Rebels.[10]

9th. April a Man came over from the Main with the News of Ticonderago being taken by S^{r}. Guy Car[l]eton, and that a Body of Indians had Intercepted some of the Rebels provision Waggons, and killed or taken all the Party that escorted them. 12th. rec^{d} intelligence that Peck's Hill up the North River was taken, that our Troops Destroyed 1100 Barrels of Beef and Pork. 18th 800 chosen Men went on this Expedition under the Command of Colonel Bird of the 15th. Regim^{t}. and Major Hope of the 44th.[11] The latter end of April 3000 Men, Provincials included, landed

[9] John Slocum (1727-1791) was a prominent merchant of Newport.

[10] This was one of Beaumarchais' vessels, which landed arms and ammunition in New England for the colonial cause. The French general was Philippe C. J. B. Du Coudray, who had been promised a commission as major general in the continental forces by Silas Deane, congressional agent in Paris. Congress refused to honor Deane's arrangement. Du Coudray served as a volunteer until September 16, 1777, when he was drowned while crossing the Schuylkill river.

[11] Colonel John Bird was killed at the battle of Germantown. Major Henry Hope

at Norwark In Connecticut march'd 30 Miles up the Country burnt several Houses and destroyed great quantities of Provisions and Military Stores Gen[l]. Tryon Commanded. The 63[d] Regim[t]. and two Hessian Regim[ts]. embarked at Rhode Island 18[th]. May arrived at New York 28[th]. 1777 30[th]. May 13 Rebels came patroling near the advanced Post at Brunswick, which a party of 16 Yaugers perceiving surrounded them, took seven Prisoners and killed Six. About 22[d] June Gen[l]. How passes the North River with a Strong Army (environs quinze Mille Hommes) marched to Brunswick and f'm thence to a place a few Miles distant f'm Washington's strong post on the blew Mountains, but Gen[l]. Washington being so strongly intrenched and having several strong passes and Redoubts to take before He could get to it, I conjecture he thought it prudent to retreat and make an attack some where else.[12] about 24[th]. He retreated to Amboy crossed the Ferry to Staten Island pitch'd Tents (to deceive the Enemy) struck 'em again when dusk, embarked his Troops again about 11 oClock and recrossed the River, dividing his Army into three Divisions, Commanded by L[d] Cornwallis S[r]. W[m]. Erskin and Himself. L[d] Cornwallis met a party of Rebels near Quibble Town under the Command of L[d] Sterling killd 80 and took 400 Prisoners . . . .[13] soon afterwards Gen[l]. How embark'd with 20000 Men landed at the head of Elk River and takes Philadelphia. 11[th]. Sept[r]. the 63[d] and several other Regim[ts]. f'm York Island passed over in flat Boats to the Jersie shore marched 20 Miles up the Country and returned the 16[th]. with many Cattle Horses and Sheep. The 3[d] of Oct[r]. at Night 3000 Men embarked at Spiken Devil, sailed up the North River landed at Tarry Town with little opposition at six In the Morning, marched a few Miles up the Country and returned in the Even[g]. embarked at 10 oClock at night on board Transports sail'd up the North River. our Army on the 6[th]. of October 1777 landed at Kings Ferry on the Jersie Shore about 6 oClock march over Mountains and through Forrests for twelve Miles, about 6 oClock at night the army arrived near Forts Clinton and Montgomery which were stormed and taken. the 63[d] Reg[t]. lost in storming Fort Clinton, Major Sill, Cap[t] Jones, L[t] Wrixson kill'd, Cap[t]. Nesbitt wounded there were between 30 & 40 Privates Kill'd and Wounded.[14] 16[th]. 17[th]. 18[th]. Esopus Town distant 20 Miles up the North River and

served throughout the revolution, after the battle of Brandywine becoming lieutenant colonel of his regiment.

[12] Washington was posted at Middlebrook, New Jersey. General Howe was much criticised for his retreat.

[13] The original manuscript is thus spaced.

[14] In the capture of Fort Clinton, October 7, 1777, the Sixty-third regiment suffered severely. Its acting commander, Major Francis B. Sill, was killed, as well as Captain Francis Jones and Lieutenant Henry Wrixson.

many Houses &c burnt higher up the river. on 27th. at Night saild down the River for New York and anchor'd at Fort Constitution.
28th. arrived at New York. We lost many Men coming down the River by the Enemy's Cannon and Musquetry. 1st. Novemr. saild to Staten Island with the 63d Regt. under my Command.[15] (N. B. We proceeded up the North River as far as *Clavarack Point* 35 Miles f'm Albany) Came off Sandy Hook about 2 oClock on Wednesday 5th. Novemr. on the 9th. came to Anchor In Dellawar River the Men of War attacked Mud Fort for several Days after our Arrival and Ld Cornwallis opened two Batteries for the Land. which caused the Rebels to abandon it with great loss. about 16th. the 18th. Novemr the 63d with many other Regiments landed at Billins Port, Ld. Cornwallis joined us here with 3000 Men, on 22d the Army march'd to five Mile Bridge In the Jersies, 63d & 7th. Regt. Remaind one night Here in Wigwams, and during our stay Collected 300 Head of fat Cattle and 1000 Sheep 23rd We march'd to Newberry to join Ld Cornwallis, immediately on our arrival the 63d Regt was order'd to *Red Bank* a strong Redoubt the Rebels had abandoned the proceeding Night, The 26th., 33d, 63d and a Company of Guards remained here three nights in Wigwams and demolish'd the Works, this being finishd We marched at 4 In the Morning and joined Ld. Cornwallis's Army at Glocester, (here the Yaugers had a smart skirmish with the Rebels the first Night, 25 Men killed and wounded, 2 Artilery Men and 10 Grenadiers taken Prisr. On the 27th. the Whole Army crossed over the Ferry In Batteaux and Boats and lay In the Rope walks at Philadelphia, About the 8th of December, Genl. How with the Major part of his Army marched at 8 oClock at night f'm Philadelphia towards German Town, had a skirmish wth. ye. Rebels kill'd a few Rebels and took some Prisoners. 12th. Decemr. Ld. Cornwallis crossed over the Schuylkill Bridge with 3000 Men for Forrage. 20th. Decem a large Army crosses over the same Bridge and advances 7 or 8 Miles Into the Country remains there for a Fortnigh In Wigwams . . . . great quantity of Forrage and Cattle were taken to Philadelphia during our Stay there remained Here till 4th. May 1778 arrived at Cork 4 June 1778 Capt Kinnear of the 7th. Regimt. appointed by Genl. How a Major In the 63d Regt. In the room of Major Sill — kill'd Capt. Nesbitt is treated very Ill in not succeding to the Majority being Eldest Capt in the 63d Regt. and badly wounded in the Shoulder. when I saw such partiality it determined me to quit his Majesties Service and this I did the April following. I sold my Compy to a Lt Crocker an Irish Gentle[man] for two Thousand Pounds

[15] With Major Sill killed and Captain Nesbitt wounded, Captain Haslewood became ranking officer.

BOOK REVIEWS

The true La Fayette. By George Morgan. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott company, 1919. 488 p. $2.50 net)

With Lafayette in America. With illustrations from old prints. By Octavia Roberts. (New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1919. 294 p. $5.00)

The publishers and the authors of these two books call attention, appropriately enough, to the opportuneness of the present for the appearance of works on Lafayette. Both books quote the sentiment attributed to General Pershing at Lafayette's tomb. Octavia Roberts quotes it thus: "Lafayette, we have come." Mr. Morgan, however, has the advantage, for he prints a letter, written at the dictation of General Pershing, which says that the words spoken by him were: "La Fayette, we are here." The variation in spelling of the name found in these quotations is maintained throughout the two books. "Lafayette" seems to be preferred at present by the best authorities.

Any author who publishes a biography with the title, "The *true* Someone," puts himself at a disadvantage in the hands of a reviewer. The question is naturally raised whether the boast and inferences of the title are warranted. The first six chapters of *The true La Fayette*, something more than half of the volume, and following Lafayette to the crisis of his career in the French revolution, are not as satisfactory as the last six chapters. The longest chapter in the book, "Campaigning in America," gives one at times a clear idea of the services of Lafayette, but in the attempt to link up his military activities with the larger military story of the American revolution the reader is at times confused. The chapters headed, "His crisis and his critics," "Five years in dungeon depths," "In Napoleon's time," "The great tour—5000 miles in America," "His last revolution (1830)," and "At La Grange—last days," are well written and the reader seldom senses a lack of unity.

There are sections in the book which are brilliantly done, but the work as a whole is slightly uneven and choppy. Occasionally this is the result of an over-affectation of the short sentence, in an endeavor to be emphatic or impressive; but, from a larger perspective, it is due to an abnormally large number of quotations from other works. A certain amount of quotation from source material is legitimate and, if from unpublished source material, frequently highly desirable; but to quote

incessantly from secondary material gives one the impression of a book compiled with scissors and paste. The author has evidently read nearly all the best material in print which deals with Lafayette and his quotations are, in the main, from reliable sources and well selected, but the book would have been improved had the author chosen to tell more of his story in his own way—which he shows at places can be an effective way—and not to call to his aid so frequently the phrases, sentences, paragraphs, or whole pages of other authors.

Nowhere in the volume is found a satisfactory and clear-cut statement, which many readers will look for, of the reasons which prompted French aid in the American revolution. The author is at least to be congratulated on not repeating the explanation that was frequently used as propaganda a few months ago—that the chief motive was founded in pure altruism and love of liberty. In the case of Lafayette in the American revolution it is difficult to be absolutely sure as to how much his course of action was prompted by a love of liberty and how much by discontent with the life of his class and by the craving of a high-spirited youth of means for adventure. The main theme in Mr. Morgan's book is Lafayette "the champion of liberty," and by the time the book is finished the reader has had presented to him virtually all the best material to show that Lafayette's one great creed was liberty.

The author does not succeed in simplifying the "complex matter" of the French revolution, as he purposes, but in explaining Lafayette's course he is more successful and puts the case for his interpretation quite convincingly. His view is that Lafayette, criticised and condemned by extreme monarchists and by extreme democrats, was a wholesomely conservative democrat, who favored a limited, constitutional monarchy of the British type.

It is clear that the author has been engaged in a labor of love, and the book is, as far as the reviewer knows, what the publishers claim for it—the best work in a single volume covering the whole of Lafayette's career in detail.

With Lafayette in America is a handsome piece of book-making on the part of the publishers. The paper is of a quality and the type and margins are of such size as to be considered luxurious in these days. In the opinion of the reviewer, however, the textual content of the volume does not warrant the lavishness with which excellent materials have been used.

The book is in two parts—one dealing with Lafayette in the American revolution, and the other with his visit to America in 1824-1825. Each part has eight chapters. The book is written for the most part in what is supposed to be the dramatic present tense—an affectation which may

be effective occasionally in the classroom, with elementary students, but which offends the historical sense of the scholar when encountered throughout most of an entire volume. Again, a large part of this book is devoted to imaginary conversations and emotions, conjured up by the author and attributed to the various characters introduced. Sensations and emotions are attributed even to rivers. The style of the book is such that the reviewer gained the impression that it must be intended for youthful readers, taking their first steps in American history, yet the publishers' statement and the "Foreword" contain no such hint. There are no footnotes, no bibliography, no direct references to sources used, and no index. The two phases of Lafayette's career treated in this volume are less satisfactorily presented than in two chapters of *The true La Fayette.* If the books are compared on the score of content value, and the price of Mr. Morgan's book is taken as a "fair price," the decimal point in the price of the one under consideration should precede and not follow the five. The book will be of little interest or value to readers of this REVIEW.

Handbook of aboriginal American antiquities. Part 1: Introductory, The lithic industries. By W. H. Holmes. [Smithsonian institution, Bureau of American ethnology, Bulletin 60 part 1] (Washington: Government printing office, 1919. 380 p.)

The *Handbook of American Indians,* published as Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American ethnology some years ago, has proved so highly valuable a reference work that the bureau has determined to supplement it with a series of at least twelve handbooks covering in more comprehensive fashion the major divisions of Indian ethnology. In this series, the *Handbook of American Indian languages* has already been published; the present volume is the first part of a *Handbook of aboriginal American antiquities.*

"It is in large measure," says Mr. Holmes, "introductory to the systematic presentation of the antiquities; it deals with, the scope of archeologic science, the character, extent, and classification of its subject matter, the progress of research; with the several important problems which present themselves for solution . . . with the ethnic characterization areas; with the acquirement of the substances employed in the arts; and finally with the manipulation of stone." A second volume, which it is to be hoped will follow soon, will be devoted to the implements, utensils, and other minor artifacts of stone.

Mr. Holmes' broad knowledge of the whole field of archaeology and his thorough familiarity with all the researches of the Bureau of American ethnology equip him especially well to write a reference book that

will long stand as authoritative. The present work, when completed, is certain very promptly to become indispensable to the special student and highly useful to the layman.

The American municipal executive. By Russell McCulloch Story, Ph.D. [University of Illinois studies in the social sciences, volume VII, number 3] (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1918. 231 p. $1.25)

Mr. Story has written a useful, readable, and well-arranged monograph based mainly upon a study of a large number of municipal charters. The book not only deals with the strictly legal position of the mayoralty but also includes interesting chapters on the extra-legal influence of the mayor, his relations to local and state politics, and on the personality of the mayor—aspects of the office which are hardly second in importance to its legal powers and limitations.

A brief historical sketch of the development of the mayoralty is followed by chapters describing the mayoral constitution today and the mayor's powers and duties in the fields of administration and legislation. Naturally the greater portion of the book has to do with the usual mayor-and-council type of government, where the office of mayor has steadily increased in importance not only in connection with administration and legislation but in public appreciation as well. For good measure, chapters are added which discuss the diminished influence and importance of the mayoralty in the commission and commissioner-manager types of government.

In common with other writers, Mr. Story seems to exaggerate the influence of the so-called federal analogy, especially in his comments on the Baltimore charter of 1796 (p. 24). The electoral college feature in that charter may quite as probably have been copied from the existing Maryland constitution as from the federal constitution; indeed, the Maryland constitution of 1776 was probably the real source of the electoral college provisions in the federal constitution. In other respects also, the reputed influence of the federal analogy upon municipal charters has at least been challenged, a fact which apparently has been overlooked in this monograph.[1]

A further exception may be noted to Mr. Story's over-positive assertions as to the epochal importance of Mayor Quincy's administration in Boston, beginning in 1823, and its influence upon the development of the mayoralty in other cities (pp. 25-28). Definite citations of historical evidence of this influence are needed to make the writer's claims

[1] See Mr. McBain's article, "The evolution of types of city government in the United States," in *National municipal review*, 6: 19.

more convincing. This, however, is a fault which is not peculiar to Mr. Story's treatment of Mayor Quincy's administration.

A reader is left with the erroneous impression that Chicago mayors subsequent to the elder Harrison have enjoyed the acknowledged right to appoint council committees (p. 32). No such right is acknowledged at the present time, the council appointing its own committees, assisted by the Municipal voters' league in spite of Mayor Thompson's denunciations of that organization. Pittsburgh has not had a bicameral council since 1911 (p. 117). In the chapter on "The personality of the mayor," honorable mention might well have been given to the late Mayor Guthrie of Pittsburgh. The assertion that the mayor of New York City is given an absolute veto is inconsistent with the facts and with the author's own statements immediately following (p. 136).

The discussion of nomination and election methods is perhaps the least satisfactory portion of Mr. Story's work, chiefly because of its omissions. Mention might have been made, for example, of the experiment in California cities with consolidated primaries and elections similar to the English system, which has recently been reproduced in Chicago for the election of aldermen. Slight study also appears to have been given to the operation and results of nonpartisan primaries (p. 49), and to the rapid extension of the preferential system to more than fifty cities (p. 51). For the sake of completeness, a brief discussion of methods of handling contested election cases might also have been added. Some space is devoted to the recall, although no mention is made of the well-known case of Mayor Gill of Seattle. The recall feature of the Boston charter of 1909, to which two pages are devoted (pp. 59-61), was repealed early in 1918, perhaps too recently to be noted in this monograph.

In spite of these and other defects, the work is thoroughly creditable both to the author and to those who advised him in its preparation.

P. Orman Ray

County administration. A study based upon a survey of county government in the state of Delaware. By Chester C. Maxey, supervisor of the Training school for public service. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 203 p. $2.50)

This book, containing a microscopic view of the government of the three counties in Delaware, is, according to an introduction by Charles A. Beard, the first of a series of publications that will contain the results of the researches of the New York bureau of municipal research. The conditions which make Delaware a convenient laboratory for the discovery of data upon which correct generalizations may be based are not typical of most states. Consequently, the conclusions are either appli-

cable only to Delaware or are matters of such common knowledge that the study contributes very little indeed to the general solution of the problems of local government.

The first chapter outlines the governmental organization of the various counties and the second deals with suggestions for reorganization. Then follow four chapters in which financial procedure, business problems, highway administration, and the administration of almshouses, jails, and workhouses are analyzed in great detail and with considerable repetition. The unification of the local governments in Wilmington is the subject of the seventh chapter and the book ends with some general conclusions, chief of which is that county government—primarily an agent of the state—should be simplified. There is a bibliography of the fragmentary literature on county government and several diagrams help visualize the present and proposed organization of county administration in Delaware.

In spite of the infinite particularization the study as a whole seems superficial. Probably any student of local government would have suggested the same general reforms without this survey. The hocus-pocus of efficient, responsible administration is centralization, and so the manager or commission plan, accompanied by the recall and short ballot, is the panacea to be applied in Delaware. In a program calling for much diversity of functions in different counties some reference to home rule might be expected, but none is made.

John Ely Briggs

Democracy and education. An introduction to the philosophy of education. By John Dewey. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 434 p. $1.50)

The present educational situation presents an interesting paradox. We were never so convinced of the social necessity for public education and never more uncertain what public education should be. We insist that our children must have it even though we do not know what it is they must have. Which is very natural, of course, under the circumstances. With strong vigorous groups threatening the radical reconstruction of the fundamental concepts of life, we are tempted to feel ourselves in a whirl of random movements, a whirl too complicated for analysis and movements too powerful to be resisted. Confused and uncertain, we turn for solace and hope to a compensatory society to be realized through the education of youth. In this we are right—provided we can substitute an intelligent program of education for blind faith in the process itself. In other words, the outstanding need of the contemporary world is an adequate philosophy of education.

Fortunately, a noteworthy statement of such a philosophy is at hand in John Dewey's *Democracy and education.* The book deserves the widest possible reading and the most careful study. For, in the first place, whatever may be the fate of the philosophy called pragmatism, it is perfectly safe to predict that this expression of it is destined to be one of the world's educational classics; and in the second place, the author's educational theory is being translated into educational facts not only in the United States, but in Europe and in the orient.

Roughly speaking (if we may murder to be brief) the central doctrine of the twenty-six chapters may be put as follows: as physiological life renews itself through nutrition and reproduction, social life renews itself through education. Education is the sharing of experience to make it become a common possession. In a simple state of society this is secured through direct participation in the common activities, but as life becomes more complex a special environment is set aside for the training of the young. The tendency then is to separate between education and life. This has now taken place to a degree so harmful to the individual and to society that the present problem is to institute a type of education which will reunite the life-customs of the group and the impulses of the young. This is by no means a simple matter, but it will be accomplished to the extent that we make possible education through growth. "The criterion of the value of school education is the extent in which it creates a desire for continued growth and supplies means for making the desire effective in fact." Thus education, technically defined, becomes "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience."

The volume is filled with material illustrating the application of the theory to concrete subjects—history, geography, science, and the like; it is a storehouse of succinct statements of notable theories of education and should succeed in setting right the critics who have misunderstood or misinterpreted the author's position on such controversial subjects as the value of past cultures and vocational training. John Dewey is the enemy of only a certain kind of loyalty to the past and the friend of only a certain kind of vocational training. He is concerned for this one thing: to break down the barriers between people and to add to the meaning and joy of life by transforming education into an adventure for making human life better worth living.

M. C. Otto

The vested interests. And the state of the industrial arts. By Thorstein Veblen. (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919. 183 p. $1.00)

Mr. Veblen here gives us an essay in economic interpretation of which the main thesis is the familiar contention that the industrial evolution of the western world during the past hundred years has created material conditions at variance with the philosophy of the eighteenth century, which still survives, though obsolescent, as the basis of our political and moral code. He finds in modern industrialism a typical Marxian antinomy—on the one hand a mechanistic organization which automatically exploits the "variegated mass of common men" for the benefit of a small class of land-owners, "gentlemen investors," "malefactors of great wealth," promoters and parasites of every kind; on the other, a set of "imponderables" or system of make-believe which smugly approves whatever is, as though the old-time relation between labor and saving and the right to property still obtained. The obvious inference is that the old illusions will presently pass away, though what the new "imponderables" are to be is not here revealed.

It is easy for a brilliant satirist like Mr. Veblen, with his command of epigram and irony, to make a diatribe and caricature of existing society; to trace to capitalism all the ills of the world, including the late fearful war; to ridicule the "kept classes" and the "certified accountants of economic theory"; to condemn freedom of contract and the right to property; and, in general, to sap at the foundations of the industrial system by which the world's millions are fed and clothed—but it is not so easy to construct a philosophy for the new mechanistic order, nor, indeed, does he feel called upon to do so. He seems, rather, to hold the orthodox Marxian view that industrial evolution will create its own system of make-believe, and that there need be no fear of disaster to the ponderous mechanism itself when the proletariat, the "untidy creatures of the New Order," take control.

J. E. LeR.

The labor market. By Don D. Lescohier. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 338 p. $2.25)

It is the purpose of this volume to prove the "necessity for national machinery for the control of the problem of employment and to furnish information which the author hopes will be of value to employment office managers and students of the employment and the labor problem" (preface, vii). Part I is an analysis of the conditions of supply and demand in the labor market; part II outlines the employment systems that have been tried, and gives the essentials of what the author believes to be an adequate system for the United States; part III deals with the special

problems of the common laborer, the farm laborer, and unemployment insurance.

The analysis of labor supply and labor demand is illuminating. Five essential facts relative to labor supply must be considered in attempting to solve the American labor problem, namely, the fluctuating but unceasing flow of immigrants; an ever-present labor reserve; the decentralized character of that reserve; the excessive labor turnover; and the defective system of labor distribution. The essential fact in regard to labor demand is that it consists of innumerable individual demands for specific types and qualities of labor to work in specified establishments for more or less definite periods. Seasonal fluctuations, types of unemployment, and labor turnover are thoroughly treated in this regard.

Although the author offers no specific solution of the non-employment problem, he is convinced that both voluntary and involuntary idleness can be reduced. Employers can stabilize production by diversification of industry, adoption of managerial policies designed to make work uniform through the year, and reduction of overtime to a minimum. Other methods include dovetailing of employments and systematic replacement of men necessarily released by employers; conservation of labor efficiency through the establishment of continuation schools, adequate relief to dependents, and prevention or regulation of child employment in "blind alley" occupations; training of adult workers; necessary public relief work in periods of unemployment.

Private, fee-charging agencies are condemned and employment offices run by employers, trade unions, and philanthropic organizations are judged inadequate. The author objects to a purely federal employment system on the grounds that the problem of employment is primarily a local one, and he outlines a plan involving federal- state-municipal coöperation held together by federal subsidies, which he considers sufficient to meet the needs of the United States. His plan provides for the greatest measure of control by state and local authorities and efficient federal supervision. In addition the administrative councils are to consist of representatives of employers, wage-earners, and the public.

No phase of the modern labor problem has commanded more attention than the phenomenon of unemployment. The ever-present volume of unemployment and the recurring periods of general idleness due to industrial depression have uncovered one of the most glaring deficiencies in the present economic system. The situation has been aggravated by the absence of adequate machinery for the proper distribution of the labor supply. In analyzing this deficiency and in suggesting what appears to be the logical solution Mr. Lescohier has not only made a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject but has performed a constructive public service.

Gordon S. Watkins

The freedom of the seas. By Louise Fargo Brown. (New York: E. P. Dutton and company, 1919. 262 p. $2.00 net)

Miss Brown has violated all the nonessential traditions of modern American historical scholarship. Having thoroughly studied the materials on her subject, she has written a book instead of a monograph; she has subordinated the facts she has to contribute to the position to which their importance entitles them; she has attempted synthesis instead of analysis.

That she is a scholar is indicated superficially by the introduction that describes her opportunities, by the useful bibliographical notes at the end, and by the familiar use of fresh quotation throughout. Still more it is shown by her firm grasp of the intricacies of a bewildering subject. Errors are few. 1793 for 1783 (p. 189) is probably a printer's slip. The statement that the United States "after the beginning . . . did not carry out her part" of the joint police provided for by the Webster-Ashburton treaty (p. 182) is her own mistake.

Miss Brown is certainly to be commended for her boldness and her scholarship. Whether she has justified her method in this particular instance is another question. Her subject is to discover what the phrase "freedom of the seas" has meant in the past. This has led her to perhaps too broad a synthesis, for she includes freedom of trade. Not that her view is not sound and well carried out, but it leads to a complexity of thought which must limit the audience which will profit by her book. She illustrates her point as to the variety of use and meaning of the term, moreover, to such a point that, in correcting the habitual American idea of a fixed state of opinion, she gives the impression that there has been no development of thought. This impression is heightened by the fact that so large a share of the book is devoted to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so small a portion to the nineteenth. She is occasionally tempted to emphasize inconsistency unduly, as when she attaches so much importance to Pickering's instructions to John Quincy Adams (pp. 149-151). She loses a striking point by dealing so briefly with the policy of Jefferson. Finally, she renders difficult the way of thoughtful readers by providing no index for a book the intelligent reading of which requires constant cross-reference.

In fine, Miss Brown's book will be most useful to genuine students of international law and diplomatic history, none of whom can ignore it; whereas it was intended for the general reader. The latter, if seriously minded, it may jolt a little profitably out of the conventional idea that international law is a thing apart, sacred and unalterable; but, if he be light-minded, it is too apt to confirm him in the attitude that nothing but cash really counts.

Carl Russell Fish

Commercial policy in war time and after, a study of the application of democratic ideas to international commercial relations. By William Smith Culbertson, member of the United States tariff commission. (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1919. 478 p. $2.50 net)

The problems of commercial policy which Mr. Culbertson discusses in this volume are not peculiar to the period of war and reconstruction, but have existed for many decades. It may not even be said that they were intensified during the war, since international trade was necessarily organized on an emergency basis and former national policies were temporarily abandoned. The necessity for restoring order out of the chaos of war, however, has resulted in the whole problem of international relations being considered from new points of view, thus creating for the author a favorable opportunity for the presentation of his views on world trade policies. The proposals which he suggests would have been pertinent a decade ago but they would have been almost universally pronounced impractical and visionary. There will be those who will hold the same opinion now, but the fact remains that the author is certain of a more considerate hearing today than he would have been during the years preceding the war. It is evident that Mr. Culbertson has been profoundly influenced by the new conception of international relations embodied in the covenant of the league of nations, his general thesis being revealed in the subtitle of the volume, "a study of the application of democratic ideas to international commercial relations."

The book is divided into three parts which are entitled, respectively, "War's effect on industry," "American commercial policies," and "World commercial policies." In part one, the author describes in considerable detail the development of new industries during the war, both in the United States and in foreign countries, which resulted from the cutting off of supplies formerly available and from increased demands for war purposes. Part two is a critical and historical analysis of the tariff policy of the United States. Various aspects of the tariff as a means of controlling international trade are very ably discussed, while the tariff as a factor in international politics is subjected to careful study. Mr. Culbertson is distinctly liberal in his viewpoint and denounces as inconsistent with democratic principles the predatory international trade methods which nations often follow. War in many instances he attributes to imperialistic commercial policies, particularly as applied to backward peoples. In part three he develops the thesis that national control of foreign commerce has failed to remove abuses and that a remedy must be found in some form of international supervision. Mr. Culbertson recommends the establishment of a body of rules on international trade and the creation of a commission under the league

of nations to interpret and ultimately to administer them. A more specific recommendation is that for the establishment of an international tariff commission under the league of nations, which, if it served no other purpose, would be of use as a clearing-house for international trade information.

The average reader will lay down the volume agreeing with Mr. Culbertson that conditions are not all that they should be and that it would be better if all nations would apply the golden rule in their economic relations. The remedies suggested, however, seem inadequate. It is scarcely to be hoped that the world has yet reached the stage where nations are ready to entrust "vital" questions of commercial policy to international commissions. At the same time, the volume contains a great deal of valuable information concerning the economic and political factors involved in international trade, particularly the tariff. As a member of the United States tariff commission Mr. Culbertson is qualified to speak with authority on this subject and, for this reason, part two is the most valuable portion of the book. Owing to the author's antecedents, however, it is perhaps natural that international trade and commercial policy should have been considered too largely from the point of view of the tariff. Altogether too little is said concerning the vital factors of international finance and shipping, both of which, particularly in the case of the United States, have been profoundly affected by the war and will exert a tremendous influence upon international trade for years to come.

Histoire des États-Unis de 1787 à 1917. Par Georges Weill, professeur à l'université de Caeñ. (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1919. 207 p. 5 francs)

Published under the auspices of the *Comité France-Amérique*, this work is intended to "make better known in France the great democracy of the New World." Despite numerous errors of detail and some of conception, it should serve this purpose very well.

Often these errors seem to be due to careless proofreading, as 1908 for 1808 in Jefferson's administration (p. 49). Others are more serious. France, for instance, is made to transfer Louisiana to the United States on November 13, 1803, when, of course, Laussat did not receive it from Spain until November 30 and re-transferred it on December 20. Again, the author so abhors slavery that he sometimes does the south an injustice. The reader is left with the impression that the scenes depicted in *Uncle Tom's cabin* were common rather than exceptional (p. 120 ff.). Mr. Taft will doubtless be surprised to learn that he was a senator from Ohio when appointed governor-general of the Philippines (p. 181).

Ex-confederates will be interested to hear that the confederacy finally became a completely "socialized state" in which the government absorbed the entire economic life of the community (p. 150). On a par with this is the statement that negroes are subjected to "Jim Crow" laws in the north (p. 199).

Yet all these are minor faults. The book as a whole is well calculated to achieve its purpose and make the leading facts of American history and the principal American institutions intelligible to the general French reader. M. Weill displays a remarkable grasp of the significance of American history, a clear comprehension of its leaders' personalities, a deep insight into the course of the development of the country. His style is clear, forcible, swift, and at times brilliant. His book is well-proportioned, the events are selected with judgment and treated with skill. Except for his "abolitionist" tendency he is very fair, especially in treating Franco-American conflicts, such as the Genet episode and the X-Y-Z affair. It is to be regretted that the plan of the book limited him to a brief political sketch, with only glances at economic and social movements. It is to be hoped that he will be encouraged to revise and enlarge this brochure into an adequate volume.

Eighteen chapters comprise the narrative of the book, of which the first chapter summarizes the situation in 1787 and analyzes the constitution. The narrative concludes with the entry of the United States into the world war, and then follows a brief discussion of such typical American phenomena as the public school, municipal government, the suffrage movement, and the like. There are two large maps, a graph, and four pictures. There is no index, but an analytical table of contents is provided.

In the main, American works such as those of McMaster and Rhodes have been followed, though such French works as DeTocqueville's classic have been used. If the book is read in the same admirable spirit in which it was written, it should promote Franco-American friendship.

Milledge L. Bonham, Jr.

Les États-Unis d'Amérique et le conflit Européen. 4 août 1914–6 Avril 1917. Par Achille Viallate, professeur a l'École des sciences politiques. (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1919. 313 p. 3 fr. 50)

This little book gives a rapid summary of the financial, commercial, industrial, and political effects of the world war on the life and thought of the United States and traces the course of events, with the development of sentiment which led to the declaration of war, April 6, 1917. It is based almost entirely on American sources — books, periodicals, and newspapers published in this country and Canada, supplemented by

American contributions to British and French journals. Monsieur Viallate's style is clear, forcible, and interesting, though he does like to drag in an esoteric phrase now and then.

He does well to remind us of several points that we are apt to forget, such as that Mr. Roosevelt at first strongly approved the president's proclamation of neutrality and only began denouncing Mr. Wilson some months later for not protesting against the invasion of Belgium. It is well, also, to note how a thoughtful, well-informed Frenchman regards our much-abused president. Discussing the accomplishments of Mr. Wilson's first term, M. Viallate says: "Never has a president obtained from Congress in so short a time the adoption of so many important measures. Mr. Wilson succeeded in so doing thanks only to a real moral authority over the leaders of his party in the House and Senate and a great tenacity united with able diplomacy. . . From the earliest months of his presidency he knew how to overcome the opposition in his own party and rally to the support of the measures of reform he had at heart the radical elements of the Republican party: he had become the veritable leader of the moderate progressives, desirous of accomplishing a serious and durable work" (pp. 247-249).

M. Viallate shows a clear grasp of the forces at work in the United States from 1914 to 1917, and analyzes them with a judicial fairness. His monograph should serve to help his compatriots realize and appreciate what it actually meant, when, as a "direct result of the stupid and criminal aggression of Germany," the United States "abandoned their traditional policy of isolation" and joined the allies. He considers this decision as even "more important, from the viewpoint of the immediate political future," than the consolidation of the British empire.

American students of the world war will profit by a careful reading of this friendly scholar's account of our entry into the struggle.

M. L. B.

The American Red Cross in the great war. By Henry P. Davison, chairman of the war council of the American Red Cross. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 303 p. $3.00)

A large number of the "women, children and men, who through the American Red Cross worked and sacrificed that the miseries of war might be alleviated" and to whom the book is dedicated will be interested in this account of the far-reaching work made possible by their contributions of time and money. Drawing his material from the files in the national headquarters, Mr. Davison, who was chairman of the war council appointed by President Wilson to direct the war-time activities of the American Red Cross, has touched upon every phase of that

organization's work — services to the soldier and sailor in this country and overseas and to their families at home, and relief work in behalf of the destitute civilian populations of France, Belgium, Italy, Rumania, Russia, and the near east. The closing chapter is concerned with the formation of the league of Red Cross societies in Paris on May 5, 1919, which will work with the international committee of the Red Cross of Geneva and will formulate and carry out a program of peace-time activities throughout the world.

The relief work abroad is particularly well described, but maps locating the numerous Red Cross stations would have been useful to the reader. Apparently it was intended to include at least one, for on page 211 occurs a reference to a map "showing graphically by means of dots the extent and variety of the work in Italy," which nowhere appears. Mr. Davison pays high tribute to the Red Cross organizations of other countries, notably Great Britain, and to the many relief agencies at work before the United States entered the war. Many of these were given funds by the American Red Cross with which to continue and enlarge their work.

An appendix of six pages contains a statement of funds received and expended during the twenty months ending February 28, 1919, and miscellaneous statistics showing work done by the organization during that period, but the "story in figures" is best told in a report, *The work of the American Red Cross during the war, a statement of finances and accomplishments for the period July 1, 1917, to February 28, 1919* (Washington, 1919). The volume is well indexed.

The chief fault of Mr. Davison's volume is its prolixity, the narrative being unduly lengthened by anecdote, comment, and commendation of Red Cross workers. On the whole, the book appears to be one of the number written and published to reach the public before its interest in war organizations waned. The author's royalties go to the Red Cross.

Adventures in propaganda. Letters from an intelligence officer in France. By Heber Blankerhorn, captain, Military intelligence division, U. S. A. (New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1919. 166 p. $1.50)

Adventures in propaganda enables one to live—really live—in the atmosphere of France and the A. E. F. during the momentous days of the American offensive and the termination of the war. It is a unique narrative; the personal letters of the officer in charge of the propaganda offensive against German military morale. It is not a systematic account of the closing days of the war, but instead a series of graphic, stimulating pictures of current happenings that gives one a clearer con-

ception of the life of the A. E. F. and of France in 1918 than is found in many more pretentious works. It is well written. Americans who would visualize the struggle during 1918 would do well to read this little volume of letters.

D. D. Lescohier

The American army in the European conflict. By Colonel De Chambrun and Captain De Marenches. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 436 p. $3.00)

This book is the work of two French officers attached to General Pershing's staff in France. The translation, done by the authors themselves, is admirable. "High Alsace" on page 266 is the one unidiomatic term noted by the present reviewer in the 420 pages of text. The book, without undertaking to criticise or point out shortcomings, is an account and an admirable one of the organization and operations of the A. E. F. as seen by an officer on the general staff. As such, its careful and detailed accounts of the scheme of organization of divisions, corps, and armies, of the elaborate system of schools for all arms of the service, of the ramifications of the services of supply, will be a revelation to the average civilian reader, and, if he has a taste for organization, a most instructive one. The accounts of operations in their detail varies with the position of the general staff as the armies expanded; thus the early trench operations of regiments and divisions are told in detail, but in the Argonne offensive the author can hardly notice a smaller unit than an army corps.

The reviewer noted one or two minor slips inevitable in a work covering so great a field. Certain divisions were armed practically to the end with the 1903 model rifle. The gas mask used was either the British "S. B. R." or a modification of it; and the French mask also was used along with the other till June, 1918 (p. 86). But it is hardly fair to pick small technical flaws in a book which presents to the non-military reader an account of organization and operations so admirably free from technical mystifications.

Theodore C. Pease

From Upton to the Meuse. With the Three-hundred-and-seventh infantry. A brief history of its life and of the part it played in the great war. By Kerr Rainsford, captain, Three-hundred-and-seventh infantry. (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1920. 298 p. $2.00 net)

In writing the history of the 307th infantry, Captain Rainsford shows a commendable caution in the use of documentary evidence. He recog-

nizes the fact that the existence of a written order for an attack is not conclusive evidence the attack was undertaken as ordered, especially if one knows that the order reached the troops concerned after H hour. He recognizes further that the value of a position sketch or of a message locating a front line by coördinates is dependent on the ability of the person who sent it to read a map, an accomplishment by no means to be universally taken for granted. Some documentary evidence Captain Rainsford uses, supplementing it at every turn by recent personal recollections and observations made on the ground only a few months after the operations described. The present reviewer is inclined to think this the safest basis for historical work on modern military operations.

The application of this method in the present instance is necessarily impressionistic. One gains the impression of the task of putting under military organization and discipline the civilian, often non-English-speaking recruits who arrived at Camp Upton in September, 1917. The lay reader may gather from the account some of the many individual hardships and sufferings entailed by draft boards that disregarded just claims for exemption on grounds of physical disability or of dependency. Anyone who has served can multiply them from his personal observation. Finally one gains the impression of the creation from a mob of civilians of a real military unit.

The accounts of the fighting are also impressionistic, giving one the recurring picture of an advance in insufficient numbers, an outburst of enemy fire, casualties, and a falling-back. The account of operations on the Vesle is a little indefinite. On page 86 an attack order gives as objective "the retaking of all positions lost by the 308th Infantry," though nothing is said about this reverse. The operations for the relief of the "lost battalion" it is easier to trace, though that and indeed all operations in the Argonne would be better illustrated by better and more legible maps. The author claims the credit of the rescue for his regiment. One rather questions his reflection on the rarity with which the Germans were driven from positions they really intended to hold. If that were the case why were they defeated?

The illustrations are partly from sketches, partly from photographs, and are very good. The text is the work of a finished literary craftsman. One wishes the author had not laid so much emphasis on General Pershing's estimate of the division at the farewell review. He is sufficiently a man of the world to appraise statements made under such conditions at their proper value. He may argue justification in the fact that the book is intended for regimental consumption, but the style in which he has written it ensures it a much wider audience.

T. C. P.

The story of the great war. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 350 p. $2.50)

The need for a brief account of the great war and the international rivalries that preceded it and brought it on is a very real one; and the announcement that Mr. Usher was preparing such an account naturally aroused an immediate interest. The reviewer regrets to say, however, that he finds the published volume to be somewhat disappointing. The work contains a number of good, readable chapters, a few suggestive and helpful illustrations, and several useful maps; but it also contains a great deal that the reviewer had hoped would not be included in a work of this sort. It was to be expected that what was written under the stress of war should partake largely of the character of propaganda, but the war is now a matter of history and we have a right to expect that historical students will try to assume a more judicial attitude toward the events of the past few years. The chief objection to Mr. Usher's work is that its viewpoint is that of 1917; it is another effort to show that Germany was fatally wrong and the allies right on all points throughout the course of the war. Mr. Usher is doubtless right in attributing the heavier guilt to the German imperialists, but certain documents recently published (to which the author may not have had access) seem to show that the Austrian government was involved more deeply than we believed during the war. The reviewer also doubts the advisability of publishing the "Hymn of hate" in a small volume like this, or of including illustrations that were originally intended to produce hatred, an emotion that is not of the nobler sort and should not be cherished too long. Nor does it seem wholly proper to give valuable space to such tales as the stories of the appearance of Joan of Arc, or the ghostly warriors of Agincourt, or the redoubtable St. George on his white horse. These tales may be properly discussed by the folklorist or the psychologist, but they scarcely belong in the field of history.

L. M. L.

Theodore Roosevelt. An intimate biography. By William Roscoe Thayer. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1919. 474 p. $5.00)

The life of Theodore Roosevelt. By William Draper Lewis, Ph.D. (Philadelphia and Chicago: John C. Winston company, 1919. 480 p. $2.25)

Theodore Roosevelt's letters to his children. Edited by Joseph Bucklin Bishop. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1919. 240 p. $3.00 net)

The volumes under review serve to emphasize the thought expressed

by Lawrence F. Abbott in his *Impressions of Roosevelt*, that Theodore Roosevelt's greatest contribution to his country and his time was personality, was Theodore Roosevelt himself.

It was anticipated that Mr. Thayer because of his friendship with Colonel Roosevelt, extending over a period of forty years, would present in his volume such an analysis as could nowhere else be found. In fact a reading of the introduction warrants this supposition. "A friend's outlined portrait" (p. xi) is promised, for as Mr. Thayer asserts, "we have fallen too much into the habit of imagining that only hostile critics tell the truth." This personal friendship of so many years is the more remarkable when it is learned that the author never followed the political leadership of Colonel Roosevelt. Mr. Thayer was a mugwump in 1884 and voted for Wilson in 1912. Roosevelt's attitude towards the mugwump movement was defined in one of his letters to Sir George Otto Trevelyan as follows: "But I suppose Lecky was thinking of the creatures analogous to our mugwumps, the people who actually pride themselves on a fantastic and visionary morality" (*Scribner's magazine*, October, 1919, p. 392.)

After the outbreak of the world war, the two men were at one in their sympathy with the cause of the allies, in their efforts to force the United States to take up the cause, and in their antagonism to the Wilson administration. In view of these intimate relationships, the reader, while acknowledging his indebtedness to Mr. Thayer for this presentation of Roosevelt's life and character, feels a sense of disappointment that a more comprehensive study was not made. Was there not some promise that Mr. Thayer would honor his friend by producing a biography such as that by Joseph Bucklin Bishop promises to be?

The query constantly arises, has the author not sacrificed space as well as the sense of fairness through his frequent use of epithets and slurs, for there can be no doubt that he is one who "loathes the administration of President Wilson" (p. 385). There follow in quick succession such expressions as, "the first of his many variegated messages" (p. 402); "sanctimonious tribute to the superiority in virtue of the United States to all other nations" (p. 403); "policy of contradictions and brief paroxyms of boldness" (p. 404); "policy of timidity and evasion" (p. 430). It is questionable also whether the facts justify such a characterization of James G. Blaine as that on page 48; or the assertion that Andrew Jackson was "a good old political freebooter" (p. 86). The phrase "to the victors belong the spoils," should not be attributed to Jackson. Other inaccuracies occur. Cleveland became president in 1893; Joseph G. Cannon began his congressional career in 1873, instead of 1863 (p. 343); "he took no active part in politics" (p. 347), does not tally with

the fact that Roosevelt was a leader in the New York republican convention and supported actively his candidate, Henry L. Stimson, for governor. Two or three more notes were not interchanged after the "once-a-week-to-Falmouth order" (p. 430) for diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States were severed by President Wilson three days after the receipt of that order on February 3.

Both these biographies of Colonel Roosevelt give the outstanding facts in his career. Emphasis has been naturally given to his courage, his sympathy with real men, his versatility, and his extraordinary personality. In fact, Roosevelt has himself, in a letter to Trevelyan of March 9, 1905, really defined the goal which he sought. "Life," he writes, "is a long campaign where every victory merely leaves the ground free for another battle, and sooner or later defeat comes to every man unless death forestalls it. But the final defeat does not and should not cancel the triumphs, if the latter have been substantial and for a cause worth championing" (*Scribner's magazine*, October, 1919, p. 390).

The volume by Mr. Lewis follows more closely even than does that by Mr. Thayer the narrative of events to be found in Roosevelt's autobiography. His approach is expressed at the outset as follows: "Since Caesar, perhaps no one has attained among crowding duties and great responsibilities such high proficiency in so many separate fields of human activity" (p. 17). While it was the hope of Mr. Lewis in writing the volume "to end forever any misconceptions of the man and his purposes that may yet remain," he has given little attention to the controversy of 1912.

"Roosevelt the naturalist," chapter xxv, was written by Mr. Stone, curator of the Philadelphia academy of natural sciences, and chapter xxviii, "Books and speeches," was the work of Roger B. Merriman. The introduction (pp. vii-xxii), was written by William Howard Taft. These three chapters are particularly worthy of commendation. Mr. Taft really presents, in outline, the leading facts in the life of Roosevelt. "The nation has lost," he says, "the most commanding, the most original, the most interesting, and the most brilliant personality, in American public life since Lincoln."

The volume of Roosevelt's letters to his children, extending over the period 1898 to 1911, serves an excellent supplement to the more formal biographies, for it is possible through its reading to know certain characteristics of Roosevelt, the man, as through none of the other sources. It is not surprising that Colonel Roosevelt stated: "I would rather have this book published than anything that has ever been written about me" (p. 10). How much he appreciated the home relations is evident on almost every page as, in a letter to his daughter, Ethel, he wrote: "Fond

as I am of the White House and much though I have appreciated these years in it, there isn't any place in the world like home—like Sagamore Hill, where things are our own, with our own associations, and where it is real country'' (p. 165). These letters discuss in a charming manner affairs of state, hunting trips, books and their authors, and public men of the period. ''From the youngest to the eldest,'' as Mr. Bishop states, ''he wrote to them always as his equals'' (p. 4).

J. A. James

The correspondence of Nicholas Biddle. Dealing with national affairs, 1807-1844. Edited by Reginald C. McGrane, Ph.D. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin company, 1919. 365 p. $6.00)

In typography and binding this sumptuous volume bears out the best traditions of the Riverside press. Its introduction, notes, index, and scholarly apparatus are in harmony with its excellent format. As a worthy memento of an important public character, it reflects the activity of a bygone era and the just pride felt in the achievements of an honored American family. The publishers, the family representatives, and the editor have combined to produce a work worthy of the reputation and services of its title-bearer.

The name of Nicholas Biddle once stood high in national councils, although as president of the second United States bank it was linked with an unpopular institution. With Hamilton and Gallatin, Biddle forms the great financial triumvirate of our first half-century of national history. Like his two great compeers, he favored centralized control in national finance, and the immediate success that attended their system was its best justification. Unfortunately, under our government fiscal affairs cannot be separated from politics and Biddle, like Hamilton and Gallatin, was in a measure sacrificed to partisan clamor. Yet all three made their influence felt in behalf of sound finance and, despite the temporary divorce of national treasury from the ordinary business world, their principles have largely shaped our subsequent fiscal policy.

Nearly a score of years ago the late Professor Catterall made extensive use of the Biddle papers in his volume on *The second United States bank*, to which the present work will serve as useful check. This fact alone would justify Mr. McGrane's task, but Biddle was more than a mere financial magnate and it is fitting to recognize, as in the present work, his many-sided activities. He graduated from Princeton as class leader in 1801, at the early age of fifteen. Three years later he became secretary of the American legation at Paris, where he had a chance to connect his name with the closing transactions of the Louisiana purchase. Returning from Paris in 1807, the year he attained his majority, he en-

tered upon the practice of law and also engaged in literary work and served two terms in the state legislature. His most important production of this period was an edition of the journals of Lewis and Clark, which fittingly connected his name with the Mississippi valley. In 1819 his friend Monroe appointed him director of the second United States bank and three years later he became its president. Aided by sound judgment, broad vision, and wide experience, his administration of the bank was eminently successful, but the institution did not thereby escape the enmity of the politicians who surrounded Jackson. Thus the bank and its president became victims of the "spoils system" that vitiated the usefulness of most governmental agencies of the period. Into the merits of this controversy that arose over the bank we need not now enter. Repudiated as a national institution, it continued for some years under a Pennsylvania charter. Biddle retired from its management in 1839, but not before interested friends had urged him for high national offices, including the presidency. He refused to seek public favor, although until his death, in 1844, he retained an active interest in all public affairs, especially in the fortunes of his intimate friend Webster. His intimacy with Clay and peculiar relation to the Harrison campaign give his correspondence a western flavor.

The letters of a man of Biddle's opportunities and character could not fail to be interesting. Moreover, he numbered among his regular correspondents such political leaders as Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Monroe, Tyler, and a host of others scarcely less notable than they. The public is fairly familiar with their lives and public services and their important letters and state papers are reasonably accessible in well-known editions. The task of making accessible the writings of those equally deserving whom fate placed in less conspicuous positions now constitutes an important field of historical activity, and this constitutes the great value of the present work. Biddle's intimacy with Clay and his peculiar relation to the Harrison campaign also give the book some value as western source material.

Mr. McGrane has wisely let the letters tell their own story and they appear as near the original as print will permit. His pages are not overloaded with notes but editorial comments are numerous enough to bring about necessary connections with the best authorities or to place the facts in proper perspective, and he has made his results accessible by means of a thorough index of names.

It is no easy task to handle three hundred letters, virtually constituting a card catalogue of the notables of our first half century, without making some grievous slips; but Mr. McGrane shows such painstaking care and sound scholarship that these are few indeed. There are some

points where his judgment of the editorial function would differ from the reviewer's. For example: "them" (l. 3, p. 53) is obviously intended for "than"; "right" (l. 4, p. 109) for "regret"; "molesse" (l. 1, p. 84), for "malice"; "standets" (l. 22, p. 189), for "star sets"; "projectives" (l. 15, p. 219), for "projectors"; "Lead" (l. 15, p. 227), for "head"; "were" (l. 29, p. 228), for "mere"; and "exprints" (l. 12, p. 281), for "exprmts" (experiments). The reviewer does not doubt that the editor copied these mistakes faithfully from the originals but he would have protected himself by inserting the obvious word in brackets. The same may be said of such misspellings as "weilded" (l. 2, p. 255), "banditte" (l. 3, *ibid.*), and "releive" (l. 17, p. 290), and the omission of "me" (l. 27, p. 280) and of "the" (l. 20, p. 351).

The footnotes show a few minor mistakes: "representative" (n. 4, p. 121), should be "senator," and "Ohio" (n. 2, p. 183), "Michigan"; "placed" (n. 1, p. 3) is ambiguous; "May 3" (n. 2, p. 72) should, it seems, be "May 8" (cf. p. 99). On page 105 in the sixth line from the end of the note there is evidently an omission, and the note as a whole is not as clear as it should be. The pronoun is lacking (n. 2, p. 264) and the wrong preposition employed (p. 269 and 296).

These slips are so trivial that it seems useless to mention them were it not probable that they will be noted elsewhere. They in no way detract from the usefulness of the book, and simply show that the editor, while a thorough scholar, is human. Let us hope that his work will stimulate others, particularly in the Mississippi valley, to undertake the editing of similar correspondence, and encourage the family representatives, as in this case, to give the task substantial support.

Political leaders of provincial Pennsylvania. By Isaac Sharpless, president of Haverford college, 1887-1917. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 248 p. $2.50)

In a series of eight brief but carefully executed biographies, Mr. Sharpless has given us an excellent account of the early leaders of Pennsylvania. The long strife between Penn and the settlers, the Quaker ideas on civil and religious liberty, treatment of the Indians, penal and hospital systems, and party politics of provincial Pennsylvania are clearly set forth in these biographies. To the general reader these sketches are interesting on account of the prominence and personality of the men discussed; while for the student of history, they help explain many obscure incidents in Pennsylvania politics.

Of the eight men described—William Penn, Thomas Lloyd, David Lloyd, James Logan, John Kinsey, Isaac Norris, James Pemberton, and Thomas Dickinson—the first four belong to the early period (1682-1726);

two—Kinsey and Pemberton—to the years of Quaker preëminence (1726-1756); and two—Norris and Dickinson—to the closing years of Quaker strife (1756-1774).

Mr. Sharpless doubts the sincerity of the Quakers in their demand for greater political and civil rights and calls David Lloyd's strife with Penn and his agent Logan "largely a politician's strife." Yet it is evident that Penn "started with unbounded intentions of radical civil liberty." As late as 1700 he declared, "If in the constitutions by charter there be anything that jars alter it."

If any criticism can be made on this excellent portrayal of political strife in provincial Pennsylvania, it is that of briefness—especially in the sketch of John Dickinson. The influence of Dickinson was undoubtedly strong in the pre-revolutionary era; and it is to be regretted that Mr. Sharpless, now deceased, did not analyze more carefully the significance and effect of the "Farmer's letters."

Reginald C. McGrane

The Indiana centennial, 1916. A record of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Indiana's admission to statehood. Edited by Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Indiana historical commission. (Indianapolis: The Indiana historical commission, 1919. 441 p.)

The outstanding feature of the centennial activities of the Indiana historical commission was the emphasis laid upon celebrations by the counties, and the results as outlined in the report of the secretary amply justify the policy of the commission. The book is organized in four parts. Part one — a four-page discussion of the beginnings of the state —seems rather inadequate as a coördinate division of the volume.

The general activities of the commission are described in part two, which covers such topics as the organization and scope of the commission, a campaign of centennial education, work in schools and clubs, pageantry, permanent memorials, state parks as a centennial memorial, Indiana centennial medal, and historical publications.

The most valuable part of the book is found in part three, which occupies more than one-half the space in the volume and consists of an account of the celebrations in each county of the state, as well as a report of the state celebration, the Indiana pageant, and the meeting of the Ohio valley historical association, all of which took place at Indianapolis in October, 1916. Included in the proceedings of the latter organization are the presidential address of Harlow Lindley of Earlham college and a paper on "A Hoosier domesday" by Frederick L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin.

The story of the local celebrations told county by county is an inval-

uable record. It contains abundant evidence that the work of the commission in stimulating an interest in state and local history was markedly successful practically throughout Indiana. The arousing of a local historical interest and community spirit is an achievement well worth the study of other states.

Part four is a report of the admission day exercises, held on December 11, 1916. Notable items in this report are a centennial ode by William Dudley Foulke and an address on "The foundations of the commonwealth," by James A. Woodburn of the University of Indiana.

An appendix includes the centennial addresses of Governor Samuel M. Ralston. The index to the volume covers forty pages, but would have been more useful if it had been prepared in accordance with modern indexing principles. As a whole the volume is a distinctly valuable contribution, not only as a record of achievement but also as a source of suggestion to other states celebrating similar occasions.

JOHN C. PARISH

Building the Pacific railway. The construction-story of America's first iron thoroughfare between the Missouri river and California, from the inception of the great idea to the day, May 10, 1869, when the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific joined tracks at Promontory Point, Utah, to form the nation's transcontinental. By Edwin L. Sabin. (Philadelphia: Lippincott company, 1919. 317 p. $2.00)

It is very much a question whether the time has yet arrived when the story of the building of the first transcontinental railroad can be told without including something of the sordid tale of the crooked manipulation which was a part of the financial end of the affair. Nevertheless this is what Mr. Sabin has done. The whole episode is dismissed with this statement: "The name (Credit Mobilier), under the searchlight of Congressional investigation or prosecution (as may be) was accused of covering a multitude of sins. It killed Oakes Ames and peppers volumes of committee reports; but at any rate the road was put through."

From this excerpt one gets the keynote of the volume. It is a panegyric to the men who built the Union and the Central Pacific railroads. The story, in considerable detail, is traced from the inception of the notion of a railroad stretching from the frontier to the coast to the completion of the work when the rails were joined near Ogden at the "roaring town" of Promontory. Engineering difficulties and their surmounting, financial problems—without reference to any possible shady side of the transactions—are given with much attention to minute points. Then follows a long description of the celebration attending the driving of the golden spike. A chapter devoted to Indian difficulties, one to the

"roaring" towns, and another entitled "Tourists to End o' Track," precede the "Checking up" which forms the conclusion of the book.

As a "popular" work, which this almost avowedly is, it is marred by the inclusion of altogether too much sketchy biographical matter. One almost believes that the commercial county "history" into which must be brought the name of every resident, past or present, in order to swell the sale of the compilation, was taken as a model. The style is characterized by an attempted rapidity of action, which becomes almost hectic in places and which palls on the reader after some pages.

It is possible that the book will find a place on the shelves of the uncritical but the student of our development since the civil war will still feel that there is room for another contribution on the subject.

L. B. Shippee

History of the United States. From Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896. By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt. (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 484 p. $2.75)

To his seven volumes covering the period from 1850 to 1877 Mr. Rhodes has added an eighth, bringing the story down to 1896. This volume is distinctly a political history, with a few digressions on questions closely related to politics and a few not so intimately related. The presidential campaigns are treated in detail, ranging from thirty pages on the one of 1880 to twelve on that of 1892. In between there are lengthy discussions of those topics which loomed largest in the campaigns—the tariff, Chinese immigration, money, civil service, pensions, the homestead strike and the railroad strikes, pensions, and the panic of 1893. In addition varying amounts of space are devoted to topics not so prominent in political campaigns, such as the Molly Maguires, the boom in iron, the trial of Garfield's assassin, foreign relations, especially the trouble with Chile and that with Great Britain over Venezuela, Grant's misadventures in finance, the Chicago riot (1886), the rehabilitation of the navy, and the operation on Cleveland's throat for cancer.

Mr. Rhodes is too well known to need any introduction here. This volume is of the same general character as the preceding volumes and, with one possible exception, deserves to rank with them. While the style is not brilliant, it affords easy, some times even attractive reading. Scarcely any one will fail to enjoy the book.

Yet, for all that, the student of our recent history will close the book with disappointment, a disappointment due to the feeling that the author has failed to show a discriminating sense of proportion, since he has omitted some topics altogether and given undue space to others. This is hardly to be explained by saying that he is following a chosen path of

political history. The Molly Maguires can hardly be said to have exercised any very profound influence on the course of politics, yet they receive thirty-two pages, while the profound unrest which led to the creation of interstate commerce commission is given scant attention. The Maguires may have been cutthroats, but what about the economic conditions which played a part in producing them? The personal affairs of General Grant are hardly as important today as the movement of population and the settlement of the west. The mistakes of the Knights of Labor are made to stand out in bold relief, but what of the causes of unrest? The period covered in this volume was one of great inventions and discoveries, yet they are not even mentioned.

On the topics discussed the author, in most cases, can hardly be said to have touched the bottom. The treatment of industrial unrest falls far below chapter IV of his earlier work, dealing with slavery. Perhaps we can excuse the failure to explain what led up to the Sherman anti-trust law by saying that a discussion of the law itself is properly deferred to a later period. But the silver question really was settled in this period. One may be pardoned, then, for wanting to know more fully why the east opposed and the west favored free silver. Perhaps we should not be surprised that one who abandoned business to write history should not be greatly exercised over the giant strides of business during this period in its march to the conquest and subjugation of the nation.

The author has made an extensive and wise use of sources and authorities, yet the footnotes are open to criticism. Reference by author and page only is not very satisfactory, especially when the writer is responsible for several books, or when the book is not well known.

DAVID Y. THOMAS

Mace-Petrie American school history. By William H. Mace, formerly professor of history in Syracuse university and George Petrie, professor of history and dean of academic faculty of Alabama polytechnic institute. (New York: Rand McNally and company, 1919. 470 p. $1.25)

The authors have largely accomplished their expressed purpose of writing an elementary textbook which shall be interesting, accurate, and fair. The style is simple, clear, vigorous, and well calculated to interest elementary pupils. Omitting unnecessary details from the body of the book, excellent notes in the appendix supply the necessary background for such events as Genet's mission, the Monroe doctrine, and the like.

Particularly commendable is the fairness of the work. No child will become anti-British from reading this account of the revolution, though

proud of his own land. Similarly fair are the discussions of the civil war epoch and of America's share in the world war. The only departure from this is the conventional account of the war of 1812, tending to give an exaggerated idea of American naval and military success.

Illustrations abound—mainly good ones. Too many are fanciful, as for example the "Storming of Paulus Hook." A photograph could in many cases have been substituted. While accurate enough, the full-page maps are printed in harsh colors and the small inset maps are often not distinct enough in their shading to be very clear.

While the cherry-tree myth has been excluded, Marion's equally apocryphal sweet potatoes have crept in, and the Mecklenburg declaration. Errors such as "Fort Hudson" for Port Hudson, and Mary "Bell" for the mother of Washington are evidently typographical. Though the wars recorded occupied only about one-eleventh of the period covered (1492-1918) they receive over a third of the space of the book.

The study questions, bibliographies, tables, and documents in the appendix are well chosen and edequate for such a work.. Also, the treatment of economic and social phases of American history is unusually good.

Altogether, this is the best elementary text in American history which has come the present writer's notice.

M. L. B.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association, held at Greencastle, Indiana, April 29-May 1, brought forth a record-breaking attendance and was in every way one of the best meetings in the history of the association. The local committee, headed by Mr. W. W. Sweet of DePauw university, left nothing undone that would add to the comfort and pleasure of the guests, and these efforts were greatly appreciated . The visit to Purdue university at LaFayette and the Tippecanoe battleground, which took place on Saturday, was one of the highly enjoyable features of the meeting.

The program, carried out as planned with but one exception, was of a quality to reflect great credit on the committee which planned it, on those who took part, and on the association at large. At the business session Chauncey S. Boucher of Ohio state university was chosen president; Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota, William W. Sweet of DePauw, and Miss Margaret Mitchell of the University of Oklahoma were elected members of the executive committee for three years, Thomas M. Marshall being chosen to serve on the same committee for one year. J. H. R. Moore of Indianapolis and Miss Bessie Pierce of Iowa City were made members of the executive committee of the teachers' section for three years. The new members chosen to serve on the board of editors for three years were: Clarence E. Carter, Miami university; Arthur C. Cole, University of Illinois; and Lester B. Shippee, University of Minnesota. Mrs. Clara S. Paine and Clarence W. Alvord were continued in their respective positions as secretary-treasurer of the association and managing editor of the REVIEW.

The managing editor takes this opportunity to announce that he has resigned his position as professor in history at the University of Illinois and editor-in-chief of the publications of the Illinois state historical library to accept a professorship in history at the University of Minnesota. After September 1, therefore, all communications to the editorial office should be addressed to Clarence W. Alvord, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Among recent books is one entitled *The society of free states.* This is a collection of papers published in the *New York Evening Post.* In this volume the author, Dwight W. Morrow, attempts to give a setting to the

proposed league of nations by a study of some former projects for world peace and ventures in international coöperation (New York: Harper brothers, 1919. $1.25).

Of perhaps more interest to the financier than to the historian is the little volume written by Jacob H. Hollander, entitled *War borrowing* (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. $1.50 net). This is a study of treasury certificates of indebtedness to the United States.

The Bureau of American ethnology Bulletin number 65 contains valuable information on archaeological explorations in northeastern Arizona carried on by Alfred Vincent Kidder and Samuel J. Guernsey. The book is illustrated with interesting diagrams and photographs.

Mr. Hill Peebles Wilson's tart biography of *John Brown, soldier of fortune* has apparently found a wide market, as the Cornhill publishing company has now brought out a new edition (Boston, 1918. 450 p. $2.50). Two interesting photographs of John Brown are the chief addition to the original publication. For a review of the work the reader is referred to the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, volume 1, page 320.

Charles Scribner's sons have issued a library edition in one volume of Henry Cabot Lodge's well known *Story of the revolution* (450 p. $2.50 net). It is in very convenient form and will doubtless find a large number of readers.

The *Hispanic American historical review* for February, 1920, contains an article of interest in light of present day discussions of the Monroe doctrine. It is entitled "Spanish American appreciations of the Monroe doctrine," and is an account of the reactions produced in Hispanic America by the application of the Monroe doctrine to the boundary dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain.

Among recent works of especial interest to students of Spanish-American history is a new work entitled *Biblioteca de historia Hispano-Americana*, Madrid, 1920. This work has been prepared under the auspices of his majesty, King Alphonzo xiii.

The *Journal of negro history* for January, 1920, contains an article entitled "The negro migration to Canada after the passing of the fugitive slave act." The author, Fred Landon, describes in detail the workings of the underground railroad. He states that the negro population of the north increased by nearly 30,000 in the decade after 1850 and that the gain was chiefly in the states of Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois.

An article in the April, 1920, number of the *Journal of negro history*

presents some interesting statistics on the growth of the negro public schools in the state of Missouri. In 1915 Missouri stood in the lead of the ex-slave states in the provisions which it had made for the education of negro children, and only the District of Columbia had more money invested in public school property for negroes. The author of this well-written article is Henry Sullivan Williams.

At its recent session, the Virginia legislature appropriated $40,000 for a building for history and archives.

Mr. D. R. Anderson leaves the chair of history at Richmond college at the end of the session, to become president of Randolph-Macon college for women, at Lynchburg, Virginia. S. J. Mitchell, president of Delaware state college will succeed Mr. Anderson.

A recent number of the *Illinois studies in the social sciences* is "The history of cumulative voting and minority representation in Illinois, 1870-1919," by Blaine F. Moore of the University of Kansas. It contains an introduction by James W. Garner. The author in a concise and scholarly way presents the workings of the cumulative system and shows that this method in practically all cases secures minority representation in the legislative district of the state, he has come to the conclusion that a much smaller waste of votes and small percentage of non-representation exists under this system than prevails under the ordinary majority system.

Mr. Beverly W. Bond has been on a leave of absence from Purdue university in order to lecture at the University of Wisconsin for the second semester, 1919-1920. He is to teach at Johns Hopkins in the summer term, 1920.

The leading article in the *Minnesota history bulletin* for November, 1919, is entitled "Benjamin Densmore's journal of an expedition on the frontier." This is an interesting account of an expedition made in 1857 to Otter Tail lake, then on the extreme front of settlement in Minnesota.

Louis Bernard Schmidt has given an excellent account of the "Internal grain trade of the United States during the decade of 1850-1860," in the *Iowa journal of history and politics*, January, 1920. This will be of special interest to the student of the economic life of the Mississippi valley.

Two promotions are reported in the department of history at Iowa state college: Louis B. Schmidt has been made professor of history and Albert B. Moore has been promoted from instructor in history to assistant professor.

The State historical society of Missouri held its sixteenth annual meeting at Columbia, March 25. The speakers announced for the day were A. Ross Hill, president of the University of Missouri; Walter S. Dickey of Kansas City, president of the Missouri river navigation company; N. T. Gentry of Columbia; David R. Francis of St. Louis, United States ambassador to Russia; and G. Lechartier of Paris, France, Washington correspondent of *Le matin*, Paris. In the evening a Missouri pageant was held in commemoration of the centennial of the passage of the Missouri enabling act in March, 1820. The story of the state was presented in five historical episodes by four hundred persons.

South Dakota has just issued a bulletin under the auspices of the governor, Peter Norbeck, and the adjutant general, W. A. Morris, entitled "Record of service of the 147th field artillery in France."

The University of California published in its *American archaeology and ethnology reports* for November, 1919, a calendar of the Indians north of Mexico by Leona Cope.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. VII, NO. 2 SEPTEMBER, 1920

HENRY S. LANE AND THE FORMATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN INDIANA

No more fascinating as well as significant period in the history of American politics presents itself for searching analysis than the decade previous to the civil war. It was a period that witnessed the disintegration of political organizations which had been alternatingly supreme for thirty years; that saw the rapid coming to the fore of the antislavery movement; that brought forth into the political arena a group of remarkable personalities as protagonists of the diverging free and slave states; that culminated in the formation of two sectional parties based upon the sectional issue of slavery extension. A transition period in American party politics, it offers to the student of political evolution a wonderful wealth of material indicative of the various channels a great moral or social issue may take to gain political recognition and consequent solution.

For any comprehensive knowledge of such a period of political turbulence, a study of the political conflicts in the individual states is almost indispensable. It is unnecessary to do more than point out how decisive as political factors were the party struggles and rival leaderships in the great states both north and south; the situations in New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina, for instance, were in large measure the determinants of the course that national politics took in the stirring events leading up to secession; in less degree, perhaps, but just as truly, Indiana was the scene of an important political conflict, a conflict that was in many respects unique among the states of the north.

Settled by two distinct types of population, this state early became divided over the slavery issue. The northern half, peopled from New England and the middle states, was predominantly antislave in its interests and sympathies. The southern section, or practically all the territory south of the old National road through Indianapolis, was, on the contrary, strikingly southern in thought and ideals, for it was settled almost entirely by immigrants from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. Reared under the dominance of the Virginia school of politics, these settlers were either professedly proslave or at least indifferent to the moral issue presented by the institution of slavery.

The influence of this proslave strain in the population, moreover, had long been dominant in state politics. Only once from 1816 to 1860 did Indiana give its electoral vote to any other than the democratic party. George W. Julian called the state "an outlying province of the empire of slavery." Speaking of the case of Indiana and Illinois, he wrote: "Their black codes and large Southern population bore witness to their perfect loyalty to slave-holding traditions. Indiana, while a territory, had repeatedly sought the introduction of slavery into her borders."[1] Perhaps somewhat extreme, this view is, nevertheless, attested by the provision which was placed in the Indiana constitution of 1851, whereby negroes were denied admission into the state — a provision that was not annulled until as late as 1880.[2] As late as 1852, this antipathy to the free negro found violent expression in the attempt, at Terre Haute, to mob the free-soil candidate for governor.[3] It was virtually folly for any antislavery speaker to venture south of the National road in the campaign of 1856. Even at the outbreak of the civil war, Governor Morton felt the pressure of the opposition of southern Indiana to any measures tending to coerce the south into obedience.[4]

[1] George W. Julian, *Political recollections, 1840 to 1872* (Chicago, 1884), 115.

[2] See Logan Esarey, *A history of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1918), 2: 809.

[3] Julian, *Political recollections, 1840 to 1872*, p. 128. Julian was the free-soil candidate for vice-president with John P. Hale in 1852.

[4] Morton wrote to Lincoln that "the case of Indiana was peculiar in that it had, probably, a larger proportion of inhabitants of Southern birth or parentage—many of these, of course, with Southern proclivities — than any other free state." Julia

It is this pronounced conservatism of the Indiana population that plays such a prominent part in the old Northwest, in relation to the crystallization of anti-Nebraska sentiment into the new republican party; it is this strong proslave feeling, dominant at times, that stands out in marked contrast to the emphatic opposition in most of the other states in the old Northwest to Douglas' "squatter sovereignty" scheme.

The republican party was born in the Northwest, to be sure; but the question arises, just how much impetus did Indiana give to the new party? Was republicanism retarded or assisted by the course of events in the "hoosier" state from 1854 onward? What was the type of pioneer republican leadership in the state and why was it longer in effecting a distinct republican party organization than that in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Michigan? In brief, what were the various interacting forces and conflicting elements that marked the vicissitudinous infancy of the republican party in Indiana? These are questions that invite careful investigation.

To trace, therefore, the early tendencies and the steps in the formation of the Indiana party, and to attempt to evaluate, in this connection, the leadership and influence of the man who became the first republican governor in the state, is the purpose of the present study; for the career of a man who, though modest and unassuming by disposition, received practically every nomination from his party by acclamation is in itself enough to command more consideration from historians than it has hitherto been accorded.

While the Kansas-Nebraska act was being debated in congress, the first effective steps were inaugurated in the Northwest toward the organization of a new party to meet the slavery challenge brought to the foreground by the repeal of the Missouri compromise. There, the old whig party enjoyed less popularity and social prestige than it did in the east; there, political organization had not been so highly developed as to interfere with a spontaneous movement of the people as it had

H. Levering, *Historic Indiana; being chapters in the story of the Hoosier state from the romantic period of foreign exploration and dominion through pioneer days, stirring war times, and periods of peaceful progress, to the present time* (New York, 1909), 293.

in the more advanced east. Two months and a half following the famous protest meeting at Ripon, Wisconsin, the first republican state convention took place at Jackson, Michigan, where the now historic "under the oaks" gathering gave birth to a new political organization destined to break the back of the party that had dominated national politics so long. One week later, on July 13, 1854, the anniversary of the passage of the Northwest ordinance, similar conventions met in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana. In Wisconsin the name "republican" was adopted at once; in Ohio it was soon accepted; but strangely enough, it was almost three years before the name appeared as the official title of the new party in Indiana. In this state it was known as the "people's" movement — nothing more. How to account for this significant fact is the first problem. Its solution involves an analysis of the forces that resulted in the calling of the "people's" convention and the introduction of the man, Henry S. Lane, generally recognized as the leader of the antislavery movement in the state.

Indiana had long been regarded as safely democratic under the powerful control of such men as Senator Bright, Thomas A. Hendricks, and Joseph E. McDonald.[5] In 1849 the democratic party had declared in its convention against the introduction of slavery into any territory where it did not then exist. It had fallen into line for the compromise of 1850 and, as a result, the state had returned a margin of 20,000 votes for Pierce two years later. Even then there was virtually no radical antislavery sentiment in Indiana. The Quaker settlements around Wayne county displayed the most advanced state of opinion — enough to elect to congress the crusading free-soiler, George W. Julian. Yet most of the people, not excluding those in northern Indiana, were not vitally interested in the slavery problem. It was assumed by democrats and whigs alike that the compromise of 1850 was a finality. Abolitionism was the farthest thought of conservative Indiana.

But another two years and this apathy, this unconcern, re-

[5] Bright, long United States senator, was really the controlling voice, the "boss" of the party; to him fell the distribution of patronage, whereby he secured his position of dominance. Hendricks was next in influence and even more popular than Bright; to him "the mantle of control" was to fall after Bright's deposition in 1860.

ceived a rude shock when the south showed its hand once more. The repeal of the Missouri compromise awoke the Northwest, and with it, Indiana could not help being shaken, if not fully aroused. Developments came in quick sequence. In May the democratic state convention met and under Bright's domination, explicitly indorsing the Kansas-Nebraska act, repudiated the position of 1849.[6] This was the spark that lighted the smoldering elements of protest within the party. In Jefferson, Hendricks, Hamilton, Parke, Dearborn, Floyd, and other counties there were democratic revolts in the form of anti-Nebraska conventions. But with whom were these seceding democrats to align themselves? Unless they united with a larger, more potent organization their action would indeed be fruitless.

The chief adversary of the democratic party, the old whig party, had by this time grown so "noncommittal" that keen national observers declared its days were numbered. Throughout the north, with moral feeling aroused to an extreme pitch by the Nebraska issue and the time ripe for a definite antislavery organization, the whigs fell short. Notwithstanding that Seward in New York refused to admit the inefficacy of whiggery to meet the new issue, and in spite of the fact that he did not at once affiliate himself with the republican movement as such, the dissolution of the enervated whig organization was foredoomed.

In Indiana the whigs, long out of power, grasped at the opportunity presented by the Nebraska act to bolster up their waning strength by drawing upon the democratic defection and absorbing the scattering remnants of the free-soil party. It was soon evident to certain whig leaders, however, that an effective coalition would be possible only by abandoning the whig party organization outright. The acceptance of this view, to which the party was very reluctantly drawn, was brought about largely through the influence of Henry S. Lane, then a prominent banker and retired congressman of Crawfordsville.[7]

[6] It was at this juncture that Oliver P. Morton made his dramatic exit from the convention and broke with the democratic party so far as the state organization was concerned. For a detailed account of Morton's action and his reasons for it, see William D. Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton, including his important speeches* (Indianapolis, 1899), 1: 37-40.

[7] Crawfordsville, some forty miles northwest of Indianapolis, was a center of literary and political activity above the average of Indiana towns of that day. It

Born and reared in Kentucky, near Lexington, under the all-pervading influence of Henry Clay, Lane had early acquired a conservative attitude of mind on political questions.[8] In 1834, at the age of twenty-four, he came to Indiana and settled at Crawfordsville, then but a straggling village. Endowed with remarkable powers as a public speaker, young Lane soon gained considerable local renown as a jury lawyer and impromptu debater. Imbued with the spirit and principles of the great Clay, his model, he naturally accepted whiggery as his political creed. Rapidly he rose to political prominence in his section of the state; in 1837 he was elected to the legislature; three years later, though he was only twenty-nine years old, the foundation of his later fame was laid by his election to congress from the eighth Indiana district. During this and the succeeding term in the house he apparently made no particular effort to attract attention, for he delivered few speeches and introduced no measures of his own. But upon occasion he would launch forth with an impromptu outburst of feeling which indicated a depth of conviction as well as a reserve force susceptible of being aroused to intense action in an emergency.

In 1844 Lane took the stump for Clay with even greater enthusiasm than he had shown in his own campaigns two and four years previous. The Mexican war saw him as one of its fiery advocates, though the whigs generally were opposed to it. His support not only was subjective in character, but found expression in the organization of a company and in active service in Mexico, first as major and later as lieutenant colonel of the first Indiana regiment. Following the war, Lane devoted himself to his legal practice until 1854, when he retired from law and entered the banking business with his father-in-law, Isaac Elston, a staunch old democrat of Crawfordsville. All the while, however, Lane's whig conservatism stayed with him, ever nourished by an almost worshipful admiration for Henry Clay.

was the seat of Wabash college, the faculty of which exerted a pronounced moral influence upon the thought and life of the community.

[8] While a young man, Lane lived in an atmosphere permeated by the conservative, deliberative spirit of Clay, whose political methods and principles virtually ruled Kentucky in the thirties. Nathaniel S. Shaler, in his *Kentucky; a pioneer commonwealth* (*American commonwealths* — Boston, 1885), 186, 380, emphasizes Clay's influence on Kentucky political philosophy.

Such, in epitome, were the political antecedents of the man who by 1854 had attained a position of whig leadership not restricted to Montgomery county or the eighth congressional district, but extending over the entire state.[9] When the storm broke with the fateful repeal of the Missouri compromise, Lane constituted the chief member of a small group of whig leaders who were quick to discern that the time had arrived when all the elements of opposition to the proslavery state administration must unite on some basis or other, whether under whig label or not. In this group were John D. Defrees, the shrewd politician, who was editor of the *Indiana State Journal*, the leading whig organ of the state;[10] the young and popular Schuyler Colfax, later vice president of the United States, who as congressman from the ninth Indiana district and publisher of the *South Bend Free Press* was very influential among the whigs of the northeastern part of the state; and Cyrus Allen, who controlled party management south of Indianapolis where the democracy was strongest. All men of the conservative type adapted to the peculiar Indiana situation, they set in motion the forces that culminated in the calling of the state convention for July 13. It is patent that each had his rôle to play; but Lane, with his wealth of persuasive eloquence and his unblemished character, was clearly the prime mover of this inner council.[11]

Although there is every indication that Lane had his convictions regarding the slavery question firmly fixed long before 1854,[12] he could not have escaped the unconscious influence of

[9] For example, the democratic press of his home town had this to say of him: "It is not necessary for us to say anything in reference to Mr. Lane, as he is well known here, and elsewhere, as being one of the greatest orators in the state." *Crawfordsville Review*, January 7, 1854. The whig papers were even more commendatory.

[10] Incidentally, Defrees was probably Lane's closest political associate, as is suggested by the character and volume of correspondence between the two men.

[11] Charles Zimmerman, in his study on "The origin and rise of the republican party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860," in *Indiana magazine of history*, 13:211 ff., accords to Defrees the credit of being the chief whig instigator of the new movement; but after a careful examination of a considerable volume of correspondence between Lane and Defrees, the writer of the present study is inclined to believe that, of the two men, Lane had the wider influence. Defrees was rather the medium, as a newspaper publisher of wide repute, through which the movement expressed itself.

[12] In Lane's opinion, being a Clay whig meant being strictly opposed to any

his environment at Crawfordsville. In order fully to account for his support of the "people's" movement, the state of public mind in his home county must not be overlooked. Besides slavery extension and popular sovereignty, there was another issue that was being violently agitated in Indiana, as well as throughout the north. The temperance movement, dubbed by its opponents "Maine-Lawism," from the prohibitory statute that germinated the propaganda, had protruded itself into politics and at once a union of prohibition and antislavery forces took its inception.

Indiana was apparently swept by a wave of temperance sentiment which was even accentuated at Crawfordsville. The expression of the *Indiana State Journal*, found in the following editorial, typifies the situation as it was related to the movement for a "people's" convention: "The sentiment in favor of the enactment of a Prohibitory Liquor Law is gaining ground every day. . . . The attempts to commit the Democratic party to free liquor, as well as to slavery, by the action of the Robinson and Bright convention, is repudiated by tens of thousands of those who have heretofore acted with that party."[13] In Montgomery county the prohibition question probably at first overshadowed the issue raised by the Nebraska act.[14] In much of the political discussion of the Crawfordsville press, "free whisky" preceded "negro slavery" as an issue.[15] Lane himself, it must be noted, was president of the temperance convention which was held in Crawfordsville in March;[16] and the *Montgomery Journal*, the whig organ of the town, had a prohibition county ticket captioned on its editorial page three weeks before it published the "people's" ticket.[17] "The people are moving," the *Journal*

overthrow of the Missouri compromise. He regarded Clay as an opponent of the spread of slavery into free territory, quoting the great pacificator as saying in the senate in 1850 that he "never dreamed of such a thing as that there was any conflict or necessary repeal" of the Missouri compromise. See the *Wabash Express* (Terre Haute), October 13, 1859.

[13] *Indiana State Journal* (Indianapolis), June 24, 1854.

[14] In referring to the whigs, the *Crawfordsville Review* for July 22, 1854, said this: "Until Nebraska came, prohibition was their best promise, and they threw themselves upon it without hesitation."

[15] See *Montgomery Journal* (Crawfordsville), June 13, 1854.

[16] For an account of this meeting see *ibid.*, March 2, 1854.

[17] The prohibition ticket appeared June 29; the "people's," July 20. The *Montgomery Journal* was a weekly at that time.

declared on July 20, "in the cause of Temperance and Freedom, and party power is no longer omnipotent." In passing, it is significant to note, moreover, that this paper, presumably the reflector of Lane's views, continued to affirm its loyalty to and advocacy of whig principles as late as July 27.[18]

While Lane's pronounced support of prohibition thus partly accounts for his alignment with the "opposition"[19] forces in the state, in fact, for his assumption of leadership over the whig element in the coalition, it must be recognized that temperance soon dropped into the background both in Lane's own county and in the state, although it remained a decided factor throughout the campaign.[20] There was a third movement, however, which exercised a peculiar but very important effect upon the organization of an Indiana antislavery party; for the wave of know-nothingism succeeded the wave of prohibition and it was to complicate the make-up of the new party still more. The know-nothings had first made their power felt in the municipal elections which were held in the spring and early summer of 1854. Born of political unrest and based especially upon an innate distrust of Catholicism, this secret order, officially denominated the American party, swept mysteriously over the north. Its position as to slavery was fiercely disputed. Douglas denounced it as nothing less than abolitionism in a new form; the abolitionists viewed it as a clever maneuver by the south to divert the public mind from the slavery issue. As a matter of fact, it drew its strength largely from the old whig party.[21]

Whatever the exact status of know-nothingism nationally, it certainly acted in conjunction with the antislavery forces in Indiana. During the early summer of 1854, secret lodges were

[18] "We are occasionally asked if we have left the Whig party. We answer that we still cherish the same national principles for which we have battled during our entire previous course." *Montgomery Journal*, July 27, 1854.

[19] The term "opposition" was commonly used by the democratic press of the state with reference to the new party movement.

[20] The *Crawfordsville Review*, September 16, 1854, reported: "Prohibition is suffering a wonderful depreciation in Montgomery county."

[21] Rhodes says that the know-nothings "incurred the displeasure of the Southerners who had made up their minds that the great issue must be settled before another could be discussed." James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850 to the final restoration of home rule at the south in 1877* (New York, 1892-1906), 2:56. See also Theodore C. Smith, *Parties and slavery, 1850-1859* (*The American nation: a history*, vol. 18 — New York, 1906), 136 ff.

organized over the state in considerable numbers. Crawfordsville was probably no exception among Indiana towns in its infection of know-nothingism. The democratic press of that place made much of the occult activities of the order, threatened to expose, and in fact, finally did expose before the October election the names of men who were members.[22] Lane himself, while he was never affiliated with the organization, did countenance a limited concession to the know-nothings in order to insure their support for the "people's" ticket. The fact was that it was almost necessary, in order to make possible success at the polls, to incorporate in the platform of the new party a modified plank embracing some of the demands of the know-nothing faction, particularly that for five years' residence in the state as the minimum requirement for the right of suffrage. The biographer of Oliver P. Morton writes that "the anti-Nebraska men would not concur either in their secret measures, their opposition to the Catholic church, or in their exclusion of foreigners from the suffrage for twenty-one years," as was included in the full program of the American party, "but they were ready to go with them as far as seemed reasonable."[23]

Know-nothingism thus was a force which had to be reckoned with by the promoters of an anti-Nebraska organization. Along with temperance it had to be granted some recognition in the "people's" convention. Although Julian's radical assertion that the ticket of the convention was virtually dictated by know-nothing leaders should not be accepted without qualification,[24] there is no denying that the "people's" party was a combination of somewhat incongruous and opposing elements, both political and moral, which were united into a working coalition only by a common impulse, namely, to rebuke the proslavery administration for the "crime" of casting aside the Missouri compromise and giving the south a new foothold in its program of slavery extension northward. It must be remembered, therefore, in considering subsequent events, that this preliminary organization of the republican party in Indiana was the outcome of something more than the opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska

[22] *Crawfordsville Review*, August 5, 1854.

[23] Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton, including his important speeches*, 1:44.

[24] Julian, *Political recollections, 1840 to 1872*, p. 144.

"outrage," as Lane's own paper termed the measure;[25] that the whigs and free-soilers alone could not possibly have succeeded in defeating the strongly intrenched democratic machine in Indiana in 1854. After all, there was at least some justification for the derisive title which the democratic newspapers of the state thrust upon the new party when they christened it "the Abolition, Free-Soil, Maine-Law, Native American, anti-Catholic, anti-Nebraska party of Indiana." It is not strange that the name "republican" could not be adopted.

The call for the convention of July 13, contrary to popular supposition, did not proceed directly from whig headquarters. From the testimony that is offered by the whig press and whig leaders, it would appear that there was a consensus of opinion that the call for the gathering at Indianapolis should come, outwardly at least, from the revolting democrats. Defrees wrote to Schuyler Colfax on June 16 in this tenor: "I have been prevailing on others to make the move for a State convention, preferring that it should come from the Democrats, if possible. Had the *Journal* been first to move, it would have been set down as a Whig movement. On next Monday, will be published a call, signed by many Democrats in different portions of the state, for a meeting of all opposed to the platform of the Democratic State Convention."[26] Strictly in line with this plan may be noted the statement of the official whig organ in Indianapolis a month later: "The call for this meeting of the people proceeded mainly from the members of the Democratic party, and although we fully approve of its object, we have said but little about it, preferring that its originators should urge it forward."[27] Late in May a meeting of the "free democracy"—this was the name assumed by the anti-Nebraska faction of the party—was held in Indianapolis, when it was recommended that a state convention be called in order to unite all the elements of opposition. This recommendation apparently served the very purpose in the minds of Lane, Defrees, and Colfax. Again, the *Chanticleer* of Indianapolis, edited by Jacob P. Chapman, a veteran democrat, in commenting upon the advocacy of the *South Bend Reg-*

[25] *Montgomery Journal,* June 1, 1854.

[26] See Ovando J. Hollister, *Life of Schuyler Colfax* (New York, 1886), 73, note 1.

[27] From an editorial in the *Indiana State Journal,* July 15, 1854.

ister of a nonpartisan movement against slavery extension, suggested a mass convention of all opponents of the "Nebraska iniquity."[28]

If this was political strategy, it evidently justified itself by the results that followed, for thousands of anti-Nebraska-minded men responded to the type of appeal that was sent out. Temperance advocates, free-soilers, know-nothings, and whigs — all mingled together in the famous assemblage at the capitol. Lane was one of five delegates from Montgomery county, which gave vigorous support to the new movement.[29] There the emphasis among the whigs was distinctly upon the "irrespective of party" idea, as the *Journal* expressed it;[30] and in the convention itself democratic support was catered to by placing three democrats on the ticket that was named for the five minor state offices.[31]

That the abolitionists, while not powerful in numbers, wanted to be heard in the convention is evidenced by the conflict over the two reports of the resolutions committee. The majority report, which was ultimately adopted, stopped with a thoroughgoing anti-Nebraska declaration, while that of the minority, presented by Julian as spokesman for the radical element, expressed itself as favoring an active effort to denationalize slavery. "The platform," wrote Julian in his *Political recollections*, "was narrow and equivocal."[32] If so, political expediency as well as the overwhelming sentiment of the delegates precluded any radical antislavery position by such a combination of factions as the "people's" movement represented. Lane and Colfax both exerted their influence for the more moderate program, partly, perhaps, in the hope of reviving the whig party after the immediate crisis was passed,[33] partly on account of the conviction that a conservative stand was the only one with any possibility

[28] Hollister, *Life of Schuyler Colfax*, 73.

[29] Local editorial opinion reveals how deeply Crawfordsville and its vicinity was stirred by the convention call.

[30] See *Montgomery Journal*, June 13, 1854.

[31] In passing, it is interesting to observe on this ticket the name of Caleb Mills, then of the faculty of Wabash college at Crawfordsville and later to become one of the state's greatest educators. It is indicative of the high character of the men who bore the brunt of this first battle for the antislave forces.

[32] Julian, *Political recollections, 1840 to 1872*, p. 144.

[33] Lane was charged with having this objective in view by the *Crawfordsville Review* for June 24, 1854.

of victory. A press account of the proceedings of the convention relates how Colonel Lane, "in response to a call, came forward, and with his usual unrivaled style of popular oratory, enchained the attention of the audience for an hour." [34] Except for his efforts for a conservative platform to weld all the factions into an effective organization, Lane was not very conspicuous in the convention.

The progress of the campaign need not be recorded in detail here. The burden of the fight against the democrats was borne by such men as Lane, appealing to the whigs with his wonderful eloquence; Morton, winning dissatisfied democrats, since he himself had only recently broken with the old party; and Julian, taking care of the remnant of the free-soilers, though his enthusiasm for the conglomerate, compromising "people's" party was only lukewarm. Many democratic county conventions were bolted, especially in the northern part of the state; democratic congressmen who had voted for the Nebraska act refused to try for reëlection; [35] and, despite the charges of democratic editors that the activities of the American party were corrupt and illegal, the new fusion party persisted in gaining recruits through the drawing power of one or the other of its heterogeneous principles. Much to the astonishment of the unduly confident democrats, Indiana fell into line with Pennsylvania and Ohio, the other October states, and elected the "people's" state ticket by a majority of 13,000 votes, together with all but two of the congressmen.

Various interpretations of this surprising result emanated from the democrats. The prevalent note, however, seemed to be anti-know-nothing rather than anti-Nebraska or anti-prohibition. At Crawfordsville, the *Review* attributed the defeat to "the secret, Jesuitical order of Know-Nothings." [36] The foremost state organ of the democratic party, the *Indiana State Sentinel*, laid the blame to the same source. Discussing the result of the election, it bitterly remarked: "What has produced this

[34] From the *Indiana State Journal*, July 15, 1854.

[35] In the eighth district Representative Mace, a democrat, was nominated by the "people's" party as its candidate for congress. Mace had voted against the Nebraska act, and in the campaign he pulled away from the democratic party. *Montgomery Journal*, August 24, 1854.

[36] *Crawfordsville Review*, October 21, 1854.

result? This question is easily answered. It was not the result of the Prohibitory Law issue. It was effected not by Whigs or Temperance men, but by Democrats, who in Know-Nothing Lodges had sworn to vote for their own ticket, which was nominated in secret council."[37] In later years Julian, the leading free-soiler in the "people's" organization, reflected that the election "was not only barren of good fruits, but prolific of bad ones, through its demoralizing example."[38]

Granted that Douglas was arguing unsoundly when he maintained that the defeat of the democrats in the fall elections of 1854 "was a know-nothing and not an anti-Nebraska victory," as far as the whole north was concerned,[39] contemporary evidence forces the conclusion that Indiana's verdict would have been different had it not been for the coöperation of the American party with the anti-Nebraska cause in that state. In other words, the verdict on the extension of slavery was by no means clear-cut and unqualified. It was impossible during the winter following the elections to bring about any general acceptance of the name "republican." The influence of the know-nothings remained too strong in the northern section of the state for their sensitiveness on the use of the term to be disregarded.[40]

Shortly after the November election appeared the first mention of Colonel Lane's name for the United States senate to succeed John Pettit. In referring to the proposal of the *Rockville True Republican* that Lane be chosen by the legislature, the *Montgomery Journal* declared itself for Lane without reservation and characterized him as being "gifted as a lawyer, undoubted as a patriot, possessed of enlarged and liberal views of State policy."[41] But the democratic majority in the state senate was able to prevent an election by its refusal to attend the

[37] Quoted in the *Indiana State Journal*, October 21, 1854.

[38] Julian, *Political recollections, 1840 to 1872*, p. 144.

[39] See Rhodes, *History of the United States from the compromise of 1850 to the final restoration of home rule at the south in 1877*, 2:67.

[40] This irreconcilable aversion to the adoption of the term "republican" can be explained only because the name "republican" had come to stand for one distinct idea which was relegating all other issues to the scrap heap. Thus republican singleness of purpose offered little encouragement to the anti-foreign, anti-Catholic program of the American party.

[41] *Montgomery Journal*, November 16, 1854. The *Lafayette Courier* also announced itself for Lane for senator.

joint session of the two houses. A "rule or ruin" policy apparently actuated the "old-liners"[42] in this action with the result that the tables were turned on them two years later. It is clear that Lane, in this contest, did not regard himself as a candidate for the senate, preferring to wait until later to press any claims that he might have on his party; in fact, he gave to Joseph G. Marshall, the regular candidate of the "people's" party, his ardent support.

Numerous facts may be cited to show the inchoate condition of the "people's" coalition down to 1856. For instance, the delegates from Indiana to the Pittsburgh convention in February of that year went in various capacities: some were self-constituted; others were appointed at "republican" gatherings; and others represented the "people's" party of Indiana.[43] Again, at the state convention in May, of which Colonel Lane was chairman, delegates were chosen for the "people's" national convention. Not even then would the assumption of the republican label be permitted by the seceding know-nothings, still potent in the councils of the new party.[44]

For a sectional schism had taken place in the know-nothing party at its national council in Philadelphia in June, 1855, and the Indiana delegates had been among those of thirteen northern states to withdraw and to take a definite stand against the spread of slavery and secrecy. Schuyler Colfax, who had been chosen a delegate to this council without his knowledge or consent, felt himself that the party would fail to come up to the platform that was demanded in Indiana.[45] Yet, on the other

[42] The anti-Nebraska press referred to the democrats as "old-liners."

[43] Some significance may be attached, however, to the fact that Indiana was numbered among the nine northern states which, through the chairmen of their state committees, issued the call for the Pittsburgh convention. The other states included Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Compare the account of this convention in John B. McMaster, *A history of the people of the United States, from the revolution to the civil war* (New York, 1913), 8:231, with the version of George W. Julian, "First republican national convention," in *American historical review*, 4: 321.

[44] Lane favored the know-nothing demand for the abolishment of the alien voting privilege before naturalization, and in general believed concessions should be made to the "American" faction. The platform of the 1856 state convention incorporated in substance this very plank. For Morton's strong convictions on this point see the *Montgomery Journal*, August 2, 1855.

[45] Colfax's position is stated in detail in Hollister, *Life of Schuyler Colfax*, 79 ff.

hand, sentiment for the "American" policy of restriction of foreign immigration persisted in certain sections of the state, and the Fillmore supporters, who made their national campaign in 1856 on a policy which ignored the slavery issue, were recognized as not an unimportant element in the "people's" party of Indiana. From the viewpoint of the radical antislavery propagandist, the coalition was still considered "a combination of weaknesses instead of a union of forces." Julian points out that at least one Fillmore man was put on the state ticket, that in the campaign of 1856 antislavery speakers were studiously kept away from southern Indiana, and that republicans were denounced as abolitionists by Richard M. Thompson, a professed champion of Fillmore in Indiana.[46]

In the light of such disclosures as these, it is not difficult to understand why a former democrat was awarded the "people's" nomination for governor at the state convention in May. It was realized by Lane and his associates that the exigencies of the situation required a man at the head of the ticket who could attract as many democratic votes as possible. A radical antislavery standard bearer would have alienated the very element essential to success. Thus Oliver P. Morton, chiefly by virtue of his having been a democrat, though he was personally popular as well, received the nomination after having been considered but a few days previous to the convention. Since Morton was the first gubernatorial nominee of the anti-Nebraska organization, heterogeneous though it was, it has been taken for granted by many writers of Indiana history that he was really the organizer of the republican party in Indiana.[47] If the beginning of the party is arbitrarily dated from the campaign of 1856, the first in which the new party ran a full ticket, this assumption may be technically justifiable;[48] but Lew Wallace, at that time a

[46] For a full discussion of this viewpoint consult Julian, *Political recollections, 1840 to 1872*, p. 156.

[47] This is the view taken by Edward E. Moore, *A century of Indiana* (New York, 1910), 142, and by Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton, including his important speeches*, 1:58.

[48] During this campaign the name "republican" was beginning to appear as the label for county tickets, as, for example, in Marion county; but officially, the state organization held on to the old title of "people's" party. Compare the *Indianapolis Journal* for the two months prior to the election. It was a transition period, in which the exact party label was confused.

promising young democrat himself, not yet having left the old party, calls attention to the fact that "through the whole formative period of the Republican party Oliver P. Morton was a Democrat of the straightest sect."[49] It was not until the "people's" party had been organized and had carried the state in October that Morton openly affiliated with the "opposition" party. It is thus apparent that he was not of the group of men who, under the leadership of Colonel Lane, were at bottom responsible for the union of the divergent factors of opposition to the Nebraska act and its concomitants so favorable to slavery.

Additional evidence is available to indicate that Lane, not Morton, was recognized not only within the state, but also without, as the foremost figure in the party organization in 1856. Since it has already been shown how the necessities of the political situation in Indiana demanded the nomination of a former democrat for governor, the failure of Lane to be awarded first place on the ticket needs no further explanation. Never an office-seeker in the ordinary understanding of the phrase, Lane realized that he could not win the votes of insurgent democrats as Morton could, and he therefore did not permit his name to be considered. But his was to be a more conspicuous place than Morton's in republican politics in this first national campaign.

Chosen delegate-at-large by the state convention, Lane headed the Indiana delegation to the Philadelphia convention that nominated Fremont. Obviously his reputation as a skillful party organizer and an effective speaker had spread beyond the confines of his own state; for in the report of the committee on permanent offices the name of Henry S. Lane was presented for permanent chairman of the enthusiastic convention. Immediately the hall is said to have rung with vociferous cheers for Lane, who at once responded, as was his wont, with a vigorous and impassioned speech in which he denounced the attempt of the democratic party to force slavery upon free Kansas.[50] In the course of his speech may once again be detected his lifelong

[49] Lewis Wallace, *Lew Wallace; an autobiography* (New York, 1906), 1:232, note 1. It will be remembered that Morton's withdrawal after the democratic indorsement of the Kansas-Nebraska act was only conditional; through the campaign of 1854 he considered himself a "free democrat."

[50] See John Tweedie, *A history of republican national conventions from 1856 to 1908* (Danbury, Connecticut, 1910), 12.

adoration of Clay; no longer, however, could he follow the lead of Clay, in the grave of whom slept his allegiance to the old whig party. Yet he set forth the claim that Clay himself, had he been alive, would have certainly opposed the abandonment of the "great" Missouri compromise. Such was the theme of the speech; such was the fundamental basis and justification for Lane's position as a moderate "progressive" in current politics, to resort to twentieth-century political parlance.[51] He must have struck the note that prevailed in this first republican national convention, for Seward and Wade, and other more advanced republican leaders, were passed over; Fremont, a former democrat, moderately antislavery in his views, was made the nominee against Buchanan.[52] Incidentally, the Indiana delegation had no little influence in the rejection of Seward, a man who was extremely objectionable to the know-nothing seceders in that state and in the whole north as well.[53]

Lane emerged from the Philadelphia convention with considerable prestige in national republican councils. But the ascendancy of the "people's" party in his own state received a temporary set-back with Morton's unexpected defeat in October.[54] The strongholds of the democrats in the southern part of the state could not be broken by the oratorical onslaughts of Lane and Morton. Proslave sentiment elected six of the eleven congressmen, the five "republicans" coming from the "New

[51] Press accounts of Lane's speech repeatedly refer to its "irresistible humor," which seems to have carried the convention. The speech created a very favorable impression, one paper predicting that Lane would soon have a national reputation. Extract from the *Cincinnati Commercial* quoted in the *Indiana State Journal*, June 26, 1856.

[52] It may be surmised that the choice of Lane as permanent chairman of the convention, representing as he did a state which as yet had no distinctly republican organization, was a move to hasten the acceptance of out-and-out republicanism in Indiana, as well as to insure support for the national contest with the democrats.

[53] Lothrop regards the objection of Indiana and Pennsylvania to Seward as the most potent, if not the most conclusive factor in his defeat in 1860, and adds that it was an even greater influence in removing him as an available candidate in the 1865 convention. See Thornton K. Lothrop, *William Henry Seward* (*American statesmen* — Boston, 1896), 156.

[54] John D. Defrees, Colonel Lane's intimate friend and associate for many years, was the state chairman in this campaign. According to Russell M. Seeds, *History of the republican party in Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1899), 25, Defrees waged a vigorous campaign against heavy odds. Willard, the democratic nominee for governor, was an exceedingly popular young man with a magnetic personality.

England'' territory north of Indianapolis, where the new party had by this time met with a hearty response. The charge has been made that the know-nothings in southern Indiana were in collusion with the democrats;[55] but it is to be questioned whether the 20,000 majority for Buchanan could have been overcome even with complete coöperation of republicans and know-nothings, whose strength was rapidly on the wane in Indiana and elsewhere.

The campaign of 1856 marks an epoch in the progress of Indiana republicanism. Previously there had been comparatively little unity or compactness in the so-called ''people's'' party. Temperance and know-nothingism, often running in independent channels, had complicated the problem of developing a distinctly republican party machinery, with definite, unified purposes and ideals. But with the general collapse of the American party not long after the election of Buchanan, and the subsidence of the temperance wave, practically all the old aversion to the use of the term ''republican'' had disappeared. Republicanism, very conservative though it was, had at last become so firmly established in Indiana that it did not have to wear a mask, as it had been forced to do for nearly three years — the embryonic stage in its growth.

Probably no man typified the early leadership of the new party so well as Henry S. Lane. Characterized by a lack of desire for personal aggrandizement, he was none the less effective as a leader; very moderate in his antislavery views and extremely lenient toward the south as a result of subtle environmental influences, he nevertheless was sagacious enough to discern that his old party had outlived its usefulness and that another agency must eventually supplant it. Thus he gave to the ''people's'' movement its chief initial impetus. The power of his leadership lay in his unquestioned integrity and high sense of public duty, augmented by an irresistible eloquence on the stump. It was for other men, such as Morton, Defrees, and Colfax, to work out details and deal with individuals; it was for Lane to take care of the ''rank and file'' and deal with men in

[55] Julian's implacable antagonism to the know-nothing movement probably entered into this charge to a marked degree. Julian, *Political recollections, 1840 to 1872*, p. 155.

the mass.[56] He insisted, moreover, that his stand on the slavery question was simply that held by Washington, Jackson, Webster, and Clay in their respective epochs. The mission of republicanism, according to Lane, was merely "to restrict slavery to its present limits; to give the free Territories of the United States an everlasting heritage of Freedom and free institutions." How strangely like the words of Abraham Lincoln!

WALTER RICE SHARP

[56] Note in this respect the high regard in which Lane was held by his political opponents in the democratic party. David Turpie, *Sketches of my own times* (Indianapolis, 1903), 202. Esarey, also, in his *History of Indiana*, 2:658, says of Lane, "There is no evidence of his ever having had a personal enemy."

KENTUCKY'S STRUGGLE WITH ITS LOYALIST PROPRIETORS

Contrary to the traditional view, Virginia had among its people a large proportion of tories or loyalists in the revolutionary days, besides many who behaved like loyalists when the British forces were at hand. This has been fully demonstrated by Mr. John A. George in his dissertation for the master's degree submitted to the faculty of Richmond college in June, 1913, and published in part in the *Richmond college historical papers* in June, 1916. The conclusions of Mr. George are fully confirmed by Professor H. J. Eckenrode of the same institution in his volume, *The revolution in Virginia*, also published in 1916.

As Kentucky formed a part of the old dominion in those stirring times, this paper becomes supplementary to the valuable treatises just mentioned. Lord Dunmore, as is well known, was the leader of the loyalists in eastern Virginia until he and hundreds of his followers sought refuge aboard the king's ships at Norfolk on December 14, 1775. For several years before that disastrous episode his lordship had been issuing patents for more or less extensive tracts of land in the county of West Fincastle, including Kentucky, to numerous persons, among whom may easily be identified at least a few loyalists. One of these was Dr. John Connolly, who lived near Fort Pitt, where he seems to have owned a "patrimonial estate." According to his own account he sold this estate and bought land in Virginia. At any rate, he acquired 4,000 acres of land opposite the falls of the Ohio in December, 1773, and entered upon a project with Colonel John Campbell, who obtained an adjoining tract, to found a town at the falls. In fact, the plat for this town — the future city of Louisville — had been surveyed in the previous August by Captain Thomas Bullitt, and lots were first advertised for sale by the proprietors in the following April.[1]

[1] Clarence M. Burton, "John Connolly, a tory of the revolution," in *Proceedings of the American antiquarian society*, new series, 20:71 ff.; Reuben T. Durrett, *The centenary of Louisville* (*Filson club publications* number 8 — Louisville, 1893), 23-27, 131, 133.

Other loyalists who acquired land in Kentucky about the same time were Captain Alexander McKee, the deputy superintendent of Indian affairs at Fort Pitt; Simon Girty, the interpreter to the Six nations at the same post; and Joseph Browster of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. McKee secured his grant of 2,000 acres on the south branch of Elkhorn creek in June, 1774; Girty became the possessor of three tracts of 300 acres each, according to his own sworn statement, but he does not mention their locations; and Browster purchased 1,000 acres of improved land on a visit to Kentucky before the revolution, but his widow, who tells of the transaction, fails to state where the purchase lay. She relates, however, that in removing to the west her family was attacked and forced to take refuge at St. Vincent, and that her husband was soon after killed by an Indian guide who was conducting him to Detroit, a fact referred to in a testimonial which she had from Dr. Connolly, who had known Browster and had on one occasion suffered imprisonment with him.[2]

Besides these few loyalists who held land in Kentucky but never lived there, the names are known of but two others who appear in the revolutionary annals of the state. One of these was the Reverend John Lythe, the Anglican missionary at Harrodsburg, who served as a member of the house of delegates of the Transylvania company and read the customary prayers for the king and the royal family of England on Sunday, May 27, 1775, at the end of the session of the delegates. It must be added that Lythe's loyalism was promptly dissipated within a week by the arrival of the news of the battle of Lexington. The other loyalist was Dr. John F. D. Smythe, who came on horseback to Boonesborough a few days later as an emissary of Dunmore, though he did not divulge this to his host, Judge Richard Henderson, the head of the Transylvania company. To him he explained only that he was collecting material for a book

[2] Durrett, *The centenary of Louisville*, 28; Reuben T. Durrett, *Bryant's station and the memorial proceedings held on its site under the auspices of the Lexington chapter, D. A. R., August the 18th, 1896, in honor of its heroic mothers and daughters* (*Filson club publications* number 12 — Louisville, 1897), 30, note; 111, note; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough. Its founding, pioneer struggles, Indian experiences, Transylvania days, and revolutionary annals* (*Filson club publications* number 16 — Louisville, 1901), 180-183; *Report of the bureau of archives for the province of Ontario* (Toronto, 1904-1914), number 2, part 2, p. 1282; part 1, p. 477.

of travels. Thus he gained the opportunity during the several weeks of his sojourn to go among the Shawnee and other Ohio Indians for the purpose of securing their coöperation with the loyalists in suppressing rebellion in the west. In his notes Smythe recorded his conviction that the Kentucky woodsmen were too proud and insolent "to be styled servants even of His Majesty."[3]

The mission of Dr. Smythe to Boonesborough and the region north of the Ohio river was ominous for the future. Naturally, the savages resented the occupation of their favorite hunting grounds by the white men and, although a treaty of peace and neutrality was signed between the western tribes and the commissioners of congress at Pittsburgh in the autumn of 1775, "Captain" Pluggy, the Mohawk leader of a band of miscreants living on the upper Olentangy, accompanied by several braves and two Shawnee guides, appeared on the Kentucky river and fired upon three persons near Boonesborough, December 23, 1775.[4]

In the following May and June the inhabitants of "Transylvania" presented petitions to the Virginia convention asking that steps be taken "to prevent the inroads of Savages" and to erect West Fincastle into a new county, despite the king's proclamation excluding settlers therefrom. The expressed fear of the petitioners was that if left under royal control the region in question might "afford a safe asylum to those whose principles are inimical to American liberty." In answer to these petitions three new counties were created in December, 1776, one of these being Kentucky county.[5]

Meantime, some of the Ohio Indians had been committing depredations in Kentucky to such an extent that McClelland's station, the last fort north of the Kentucky river, was aban-

[3] Ranck, *Boonesborough,* 28, 31-33.

[4] *Biennial report of the department of archives and history of the state of West Virginia,* 1911-1914 (Charleston, 1914), 40; *The revolution on the upper Ohio, 1775-1777,* edited by Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg (Madison, 1908), 100, 102, 143; Ranck, *Boonesborough,* 45, 46.

[5] *Petitions of the early inhabitants of Kentucky to the general assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792,* edited by James R. Robertson (*Filson club publications* number 27—Louisville, 1914), 38, 39; William W. Hening, *Statutes at large, being a collection of all the laws of Virginia, 1619 to 1792* (Richmond, 1819-1823), 9: 257; Ranck, *Boonesborough,* 48, 54.

doned in the same month in which the new counties were erected. That the red men had been incited to these hostilities was not doubted by many, for the report had gained wide currency in May that the Wyandot, Ottawa, and other Indians had recently been at Detroit, where they had received presents from the British commandant, Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton. With the opening of the spring of 1777 the attacking war bands only increased in size and daring. Late in April Boonesborough, "the big fort," which had been left unassailed hitherto, was attacked by a party of fifty or more warriors, and early in July it was besieged during two days and nights by 200 Indians. Conditions were surely not improved by the murder late in September of the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, and three of his tribesmen at Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) by members of the garrison in hasty revenge for the death of a comrade stricken outside the post by the stealthy shot of lurking savages. Hamilton at Detroit was not slow in taking advantage of the outraged feelings of the Shawnee tribe. Before the winter had passed he sent two French Canadians to engage eighty or more of the Shawnee in another attempt to seize Boonesborough. They readily consented, and on their way southward, February 7, 1778, had the good fortune to capture Daniel Boone, who had a camp of salt-makers near by at the lower Blue licks. The tribesmen easily secured the rest of the campers through the intervention of Boone, who saw the folly of resistance and persuaded his men to surrender.[6]

The Shawnee at once gave up their expedition against Boonesborough, returned with their captives to their villages at Little Chillicothe, and on March 10 started with eleven of their pris-

[6] *The revolution on the upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Thwaites and Kellogg, eds.), 175, note 6; 177, note 11; 187, 188, 236, 242, 247; James G. M. Ramsey, *The annals of Tennessee, to the end of the eighteenth century: comprising its settlement, as the Watauga association, from 1769 to 1777; a part of North-Carolina, from 1777 to 1784; the state of Franklin, from 1784 to 1788; a part of North-Carolina, from 1788 to 1790; the territory of the U. States, south of the Ohio, from 1790 to 1796; the state of Tennessee, from 1796 to 1800* . . . (Philadelphia, 1853), 148 ff.; Ranck, *Boonesborough,* 49-52, 54, 56-61; Alexander S. Withers, *Chronicles of border warfare; or, a history of the settlement by the whites of northwestern Virginia, and of the Indian wars and massacres in that section of the state; with reflections, anecdotes.* . . . edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cincinnati, 1903), 173, 209, 211-214, 236, 266; *Frontier defense on the upper Ohio, 1777-1778,* edited by Reuben G. Thwaites and Louise P. Kellogg (Madison, 1912), 149, *passim.*

oners, including Boone, for Detroit. Here the famous Kentuckian was well received by Hamilton, to whom he told a pitiful tale of the starving and nearly naked condition of the settlers south of the Ohio, who, he added, were without the prospect of relief from congress. The commandant offered a large price for Boone and, failing to effect the purchase, sought his favor by presenting him with a horse and trappings.

On April 28, not long after the departure of Boone and the Indians, Hamilton wrote to Sir Guy Carleton in regard to the Kentuckians: "Their dilemma will probably induce them to trust to the savages, who have shown so much humanity to their prisoners, and come to this place before winter." In the following June Boone escaped from his captors upon the horse he had received from Hamilton. At the end of the same summer the British commandant undertook to win over the inhabitants of Boonesborough for the king or, if necessary, to capture them. He therefore dispatched Lieutenant Antoine de Quindre and other French Canadians, with a supply of ammunition and the English and French flags, to assist Chief Black Fish in assembling a force of over four hundred Indians, mostly Shawnee, to proceed to the big fort. On arriving there, September 7, a messenger advanced to ask a parley over letters which he had brought from Governor Hamilton to Captain Boone. The negotiations lasted three days, on the last of which the principal men of the fort signed a treaty renouncing their allegiance to the United States and renewing their fealty to the king, on condition that the Indians, who outnumbered the garrison eleven to one, would withdraw immediately. But instead, the treacherous red men attempted to seize and detain the whites, though without success. After repeated assaults on the stronghold the Indians tunneled from the bank of the Kentucky river to within twenty yards of the fort, but successive rains stopped their operations and filled their mine with sunken earth. Having failed in their nine days' siege, the Shawnee army broke into detachments, which had to content themselves with ravaging about other stations. Such was the dismal outcome of Hamilton's plan to convert the inhabitants of Boonesborough into loyalists preparatory to their reception at Detroit.[7]

[7] Ranck, *Boonesborough*, 68-104; *Petitions of the early inhabitants of Kentucky to the general assembly of Virginia, 1796 to 1792* (Robertson, ed.), 44, 45; Withers,

Captain Boone, indeed, did not escape the open accusation of being a tory and a traitor. Colonel Richard Callaway, and probably others, charged him with having sought to aid the British by favoring the peace treaty at Boonesborough and having caused the surrender of the salt-makers at the lower Blue licks. Boone was accordingly tried by court-martial at Logan's station, but maintained that these acts were stratagems dictated by military necessity and was acquitted. He was further vindicated a little later by being promoted to the rank of major.[8]

The years 1779 and 1780 witnessed a remarkable emigration from the communities on the upper Ohio and to the eastward into Kentucky. In May of the latter year one observer of this movement, Colonel Daniel Brodhead at Pittsburgh, estimated that the Kentucky settlements would be able to turn out 15,000 men and ventured the opinion that the villainous Shawnee and their allies would soon find troublesome neighbors in that quarter. It is not to be supposed that all these newcomers were patriots, especially as tory plots were being disclosed and suppressed from time to time in the regions from which they came. Late in 1780 one visitor to Kentucky went so far as to say in a letter to Colonel George Morgan: "Should the English go there and offer them protection from the Indians, the greatest part will join." It was not to Kentucky, however, but to Detroit that Captain McKee and Simon Girty, together with several of their fellow loyalists, fled from Fort Pitt on the night of March 28, 1778. They passed through the intervening Indian country and arrived at their destination about two months later. They thus escaped the penalties which their discovered plotting entailed and, being taken into the Indian department, they supplanted the French Canadians as leaders of loyalist and Indian war parties against the frontier. For the next seventeen months they carried on their depredations in the region they had recently left and then turned their attention to that into which the tide of settlers was now pouring.[9]

Chronicles of border warfare (Thwaites, ed.), 268-270; *Frontier defense on the upper Ohio, 1777-1778* (Thwaites and Kellogg, eds.), 283, 284.

[8] Ranck, *Boonesborough*, 104, 105.

[9] *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781*, edited by Louise P. Kellogg (*Wisconsin historical collections*, volume 24 — Madison, 1917), 21, 22, 41, 149, 163, 164,

The first report that Simon Girty was with the Indians on the Kentucky border gained credence in the latter part of May, when John Bowman, lieutenant of Kentucky county, led 250 volunteers against the Shawnee town of Little Chillicothe on the Little Miami river. The rumor that Girty was approaching at the head of 100 Shawnee threw Bowman's men into general disorder for a brief time, but they recovered themselves, defeated the enemy, and burned most of the village and crops. In the following autumn Simon Girty's brothers, James and George, advanced with about 170 Wyandot warriors down the Little Miami to the spot where Cincinnati now stands and there, on October 4, engaged Colonel David Rogers' flotilla of five boats, which was on its way from St. Louis up the Ohio with a store of goods and ammunition. The Indians killed some forty of the whites, took a few prisoners, and carried off much booty. Thereafter small skirmishes with the Indians appear to have become more common on the border than ever.[10]

The capture of Hamilton by Colonel George Rogers Clark at Vincennes in February, 1779, and the appointment of Major A. S. de Peyster as the former's successor at Detroit did not change the policy of employing loyalists to lead the expeditions against Kentucky. In the early summer of that year De Peyster sent from his post a force of 150 tories and Canadians with two cannon and 100 tribesmen from the upper lakes under the command of Captain Henry Bird, a Virginian, with the three Girtys as aides. On the Miami they were joined by Captain McKee and 600 more Indians. These combined forces were to proceed against Clark, who was now stationed at the falls of the Ohio. The Indians, however, refused to go and confront the victor of Hamilton, choosing rather to attack the forts up the Licking. On June 22, Ruddle's station, with its 300 inmates, surrendered at the sound of the enemy's fieldpieces. Fifty more prisoners

168, 176, 209, note 1; 277; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The tory proprietors of Kentucky lands," in *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly*, 28: 48-71.

[10] Withers, *Chronicles of border warfare* (Thwaites, ed.), 271-273; Consul W. Butterfield, *History of the Girtys; being a concise account of the Girty brothers—Thomas, Simon, James and George, and of their half-brother John Turner—also of the part taken by them in Lord Dunmore's war, in the western border war of the revolution, and in the Indian war of 1790-95; with a recital of the principal events in the west during these wars . . .* (Cincinnati, 1890), 113; *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Kellogg, ed.), 17, 79-94, 105, 123.

were secured at Martin's station five miles farther on. Famine now ensued and drove the invaders home. Captain Bird took with his contingent Captain Isaac Ruddle and his company, all of whom remained in captivity at Detroit until November 3, 1782. The Indians, with their share of the prisoners, scattered to their several villages. There may be some justice in the criticism made at the time that widespread disaffection among the settlers was responsible for the surrender of the two stations. At any rate, many of the pioneers are said to have moved into the interior rather than volunteer for offensive operations against the Indians and the tories.[11]

During the first week of August, 1780, Colonels Clark, Slaughter, and Logan led forth their respective divisions, which together numbered about one thousand men, to take vengeance on the Shawnee for the descent upon the two Licking stations. They found Little Chillicothe partly deserted and still burning, the Indians having been forewarned by a deserter from Logan's division. James Girty and 300 warriors made more than a show of defense, but could not withstand the determined fighting of the borderers and retreated.[12]

We may pass over the numerous raids into Kentucky during the next twelvemonth or more. One only, about the middle of September, 1781, was conducted by a loyalist, namely, Captain McKee, who was accompanied by Chief Brant, head of the Six nations. With a large following of Hurons and Miami these experienced fighters appeared at Boone's station and there defeated Colonel John Floyd and a company of men from the stations on Bear Grass creek.[13]

Under tory leadership the savages had thus far won an almost unbroken series of successes over the Kentuckians. If they had obeyed the orders of their white captains, they might no doubt have gained more sweeping victories, but again and

[11] Withers, *Chronicles of border warfare* (Thwaites, ed.), 254, note; 285, 286, 294-299; Ranck, *Boonesborough*, 118, 119; *Petitions of the early inhabitants of Kentucky to the general assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792*, p. 168; *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Kellogg, ed.), 22, 186, 187, 192, 265, 266.

[12] Withers, *Chronicles of border warfare* (Thwaites, ed.), 305-308; *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Kellogg, ed.), 374, 375.

[13] Durrett, *The centenary of Louisville*, 57-59; Durrett, *Bryant's station and the memorial proceedings held on its site*, 84; *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781* (Kellogg, ed.), 374, 375.

again they had willfully turned back when their campaign was but half finished. At length, in June, 1782, they threw away their final chance of spreading desolation among the settlements south of the Ohio. At that time 1,100 Indians of eight different nations were assembled at Wakitamiki — now Zanesfield, Logan county, Ohio — under the command of Captain William Caldwell and were there joined by Captain Andrew Bradt and sixty loyalist rangers from Detroit, Captain McKee, Simon and George Girty, and Matthew Elliott of the Indian department at the northern post. This host is said to have outnumbered the whole force of fighting men in Kentucky at the time. Its size is doubtless explained by the fact that it was to be employed in destroying an invading force led by George Rogers Clark. When intelligence was brought in that Clark's army was nowhere about, three-fourths of the tribesmen returned to their towns and villages. The other fourth and the loyalist rangers crossed the Ohio river with Simon Girty, defeated Captain John Holder and his men at the upper Blue licks on August 15, and then laid siege to Bryant's station. While the Indians occupied themselves with burning several cabins, killing cattle, and destroying crops, Girty proclaimed pardon and protection to all inmates of the fort who would swear allegiance to the king, on condition that they would capitulate. Unlike the garrison of Boonesborough, which had been offered similar terms nearly four years before, the men at Bryant's flatly refused the offer, and Girty with his tories and Indians took the trail back to the Blue licks on the night of August 16. At this time, according to Girty, nearly 100 warriors left him. On August 19 about 180 Kentuckians crossed the Licking river in pursuit of the invaders, who were now lying in ambush in the wooded ravines surrounding the open ridge in front. Most of the advancing party had dismounted and were ascending the ridge on foot, when they received a volley which killed perhaps forty of them. The savages then threw themselves upon the Kentuckians' animals and succeeded in cutting down thirty more victims and capturing others. The rest of the borderers fled back across the river, those in the lead being halted by Major Benjamin Netherland long enough to turn and fire on the pursuing Indians, who were thus driven to cover for a brief interval, while the fugitives es-

caped into the woods and so to their several stations. On the next day the loyalists and Indians crossed the Ohio, the latter going on to their camps and the former to Wakitamiki. A few days later Caldwell and McKee sent reports to Detroit in which the number of Kentuckians killed and captured was doubled. In reply came an order from De Peyster, in conformity with the recent manifesto of the commander in chief of the British forces, Sir Guy Carleton, to make no more incursions into the enemy's country. Nevertheless, during the next fourteen years, or as long as the northern posts remained in British hands, Kentucky suffered from occasional forays and outrages at the hands of the savages. The sequel of the massacre at the Blue licks was enacted in the early days of November, 1782, when George Rogers Clark with 1,050 men destroyed the town and the winter stores of the Miami, while the Indians took to their heels despite Captain McKee's efforts to persuade them to stay and fight.[14]

It has been seen above that the Kentuckians suffered the cruelties of border warfare in greater degree than before, after the leadership of the tribes to the northward passed to those loyalists who owned lands in "Transylvania." In May, 1779, the Virginia assembly enacted the law of escheats and forfeitures, under which such estates were liable to confiscation and sale for the profit of the state. This policy might easily work out in such a way as to yield no benefit, if it did not do actual injustice, to some of the inhabitants of Kentucky. Representative Kentuckians, however, were alive to their local interests and, through their skillful advocacy of those interests, were able to gain immediate or prospective advantages at the expense of the loyalist proprietors, whose destruction in battle would have been a more welcome recompense.

It was not until a year after the passage of the act of escheats and forfeitures that the inhabitants of Kentucky took measures to secure to themselves the estates in question. The land at the falls of the Ohio surveyed and patented for Dr. Connolly, who had been Lord Dunmore's chief ally at Pittsburgh and a prisoner in the hands of the Americans from November, 1775, until

[14] Durrett, *Bryant's station and the memorial proceedings held on its site,* 87-90, 91-123, 134-209, 211-215; George W. Ranck, "Girty, the white Indian; a study in early western history," in *Magazine of American history,* 15:256-277; Butterfield, *History of the Girtys,* 193, 194, 198, 200, 205, 208.

his exchange in October, 1780, was brought to the attention of the Virginia assembly by a petition on May 1 of the latter year. This petition came from the settlers at the falls, who desired an act establishing their town as planned by them and validating the titles to their lots, which would otherwise be liable to confiscation and sale under the act of escheats and forfeitures passed in May, 1779. Accordingly, the assembly enacted a law one year later, vesting 1,000 acres of Connolly's survey in a board of trustees for the town of Louisville, and authorizing the sale of lots at auction. Curiously enough, an escheating jury, of which Daniel Boone was a member, met at Lexington on the same day and rendered a verdict of forfeiture against Connolly for joining the subjects of the king of his own free will.[15]

In December, 1780, Lieutenant Colonel Connolly had sailed from New York with the Queen's rangers, a well-known tory corps, for Yorktown, and soon after had been placed in command of the loyalists of Virginia and North Carolina on the peninsula formed by the James river and the Chesapeake bay. In September, 1781, he had again been taken prisoner and had been sent to Philadelphia three months later. In the following March he had been paroled and sent to New York, on condition that he would depart for England. He appears to have spent the next five years in Great Britain, but by 1788 he was in Detroit, having returned by way of Quebec. He had not yet given up hope of recovering the west for the English crown, and was therefore ready to believe the tale that the people of Kentucky wished to free themselves from the United States government. Under the pretext that he had come to look after his confiscated estate, Connolly appeared at Louisville on October 25, 1788. He revealed the real object of his visit a day or two later in a joint interview with Colonel Thomas Marshall and Judge George Muter. He told these two men in substance that the Canadian governor-general, Lord Dorchester, formerly Sir Guy Carleton, was ready to aid the westerners by arming and paying any force they might raise for the purpose of wresting the control of the Mississippi and of New Orleans from the Spaniards, that he would send from 5,000 to 10,000 men to join them, and that he

[15] Durrett, *The centenary of Louisville*, 50-56, 149-154; *Petitions of the early inhabitants of Kentucky to the general assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792* (Robertson, ed.), 53-55; Hening, *Statutes at large*, 10: 293-295.

would dispatch a fleet to coöperate with this land force in the conquest of New Orleans. Colonel Marshall states that he informed Connolly that as long as the savages continued to commit cruelties on the defenseless frontier of Kentucky and to be "received as friends and allies by the British at Detroit," it would be impossible to convince the people of the good intentions of Lord Dorchester. From General James Wilkinson, with whom Connolly conversed on November 8, the latter learned not only that "the British were greatly disliked in Kentucky," but also that he might be killed if his mission were discovered. The emissary from Detroit now begged for an escort, which was provided, and he recrossed the Ohio river, November 20, on his return journey.[16]

The clearing of the titles of the early settlers of Louisville was accomplished at the expense of Dr. Connolly, as already noted. This was a simple act of justice to those who had bought their lots in good faith from an original proprietor. At almost the same moment that these purchasers were presenting their petition for relief to the Virginia assembly — a petition in which they stated with clearness and force the commercial and other benefits to be secured by the establishment of their town — the Reverend John Todd of Virginia and his nephew, Colonel John Todd of Kentucky, persuaded the assembly to set aside other loyalist estates for the cause of public education. It was in May, 1780, that the assembly passed the "act to vest certain escheated lands in the County of Kentucke in trustees for a Publick School." The lands thus applied were Captain Alexander McKee's 2,000 acres on the south branch of Elkhorn creek, Henry Collins' 3,000 acres near Lexington, and Robert McKenzie's 3,000 acres, called the military survey, at the mouth of Harrod's creek. McKenzie was an officer of the Forty-third

[16] Burton, "John Connolly, a tory of the revolution," in *Proceedings of the American antiquarian society*, new series, 20: 71 ff.; Siebert, "The tory proprietors of Kentucky lands," in *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly*, 28:48-71; John M. Brown, *The political beginnings of Kentucky* (*Filson club publications* number 6 —Louisville, 1889), 182-184; Mann Butler, *A history of the commonwealth of Kentucky, from its exploration and settlement by the whites, to the close of the northwestern campaign, in 1813; with an introduction exhibiting the settlement of western Virginia . . . in 1736, to the treaty of Camp Charlotte . . . in 1774* (Cincinnati and Louisville, 1836), 184.

regiment of foot in the British army when he was wounded at Bunker hill.[17]

Even at the end of the revolution not all the confiscated estates in Kentucky had been disposed of and, although the school had not yet been started, there was still opportunity to increase its endowment from this source. Colonel Caleb Wallace, a Kentuckian in the assembly, saw the opportunity, and in 1783 secured the passage of an act granting all escheated lands in the district of Kentucky "not to exceed twenty thousand acres" to the proposed school, thus adding 12,000 acres to the earlier grant of 8,000 acres. The new act conferred by regular charter upon an enlarged board of trustees "all the powers and privileges that are now enjoyed by the visitors or governors of any college or university within the State." The school when established was to bear the name "Transylvania seminary" and, evidently in view of the fact that Indian hostilities had not ceased, both teachers and students were to be exempt from militia duties. Another reminder of the subsiding struggle is to be found in the presence on the board of trustees of Colonel George Rogers Clark.[18]

Something more than the "guarantee of permanency" furnished by the land grants was needed before Transylvania seminary could be opened to students. The trustees found it necessary, therefore, to appoint a committee to solicit funds, books, and apparatus, and they also received one-sixth of all surveyor's fees collected in the Kentucky district. They were thus enabled to employ a master and open the seminary in a private house near Danville, February 1, 1785. Several years later the trustees decided to remove the school to Lexington, where it first received students June 1, 1789. Here in Lexington the institution was to find its abiding place, erect buildings to meet its growing needs, develop new departments, combine with other institutions, graduate thousands of students, become almost dormant during the civil war, and, after discontinuing its several

[17] *Transylvania college bulletin*, 40: 16, 17; Robert and Johanna Peter, *Transylvania university. Its origin, rise, decline, and fall* (*Filson club publications* number 11 — Louisville, 1896), 20-22, 38-41.

[18] *Transylvania college bulletin*, 40: 17-20, 22-25; *Kentucky Gazette*, June 6, 1789, April 26, 1790; Peter, *Transylvania university*, 49-52, 64, 66-71, 175-177.

departments, survive as Transylvania college. Thus the beginnings of the city of Louisville and of the famous old college at Lexington, "the oldest permanent institution of learning west of the Alleghenies," may be ascribed to the struggle of Kentucky with its loyalist proprietors. The lands confiscated from these proprietors by the Virginia assembly were in both cases, chiefly through the efforts of Kentuckians, turned to excellent and enduring uses.

Wilbur H. Siebert

Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE OLD NORTHWEST

The year 1919-1920 marks a return to more normal conditions in the historical field. The difficulties of new problems have been toned down by a year's efforts at penetration; the glamour of novelty has begun to wear off. Historical agencies confront a broader field of activity but contrive to follow along the lines marked off by past experience.

Activities in Wisconsin for the year ending with the October meeting of the State historical society are officially recorded in the *Proceedings of the State historical society of Wisconsin for 1919* (Madison, 1920). This is informally supplemented by the *Wisconsin history bulletin*, the editor's clip sheet, of which twelve issues have appeared during the year under review. The State historical society has continued aggressively along well-established lines; in the past winter a somewhat important change in organization was inaugurated in the form of a division of labor between the administrative and editorial work of the society. Mr. Milo M. Quaife gave up the superintendency of the society to accept the newly created office of editor, in charge of its publications, and Mr. Joseph Schafer, formerly of the University of Oregon, was engaged as superintendent. During the year the Winnebago county archaeological and historical society was organized under promising conditions and the West Wisconsin Methodist historical society was also launched. The Milwaukee old settlers' association also took advantage of the Wisconsin statute on the subject to affiliate with the State historical society as an auxiliary.

The Illinois state historical library has just suffered a serious loss from the resignation of Clarence W. Alvord, for fifteen years in charge of the library's publication activities. Under his direction, volumes two to fifteen of the *Illinois historical collections* have been edited and published in a form that makes that series a model for state publication activities in the historical field. Mr. Alvord was also editor in chief of the *Centennial history of Illinois* and author of the first volume, *The Illi-*

nois country, 1673-1818. The library board has appointed as his successor Theodore C. Pease, formerly associate in history at the University of Illinois and author of the second volume of the *Centennial history*. Mr. Pease will endeavor to carry forward the work outlined by his worthy predecessor.

The general assembly of Illinois in 1919 set aside the sum of $20,000 requested for use during the present biennium for the collection of material pertaining to Illinois' part in the great war. A war records section has been added to the Illinois state historical library and placed in charge of Wayne E. Stevens, as war records secretary. Mr. Stevens was for a time associated with the historical branch of the general staff at Washington. It is hoped that, when the work of collecting material has been completed, a comprehensive history of Illinois in the war will be published. Present plans call for an eight- or ten-volume work, which will cover all phases of war activities, economic and social as well as military.

The *Annual report* of the Chicago historical society for the year ending October 31, 1919, has recently appeared (Chicago, 1920. 149 p.) as a record of the work of that society. The work of the Illinois state historical society is chronicled in its annual *Transactions*, of which the last number is that for 1918 (Springfield, 1919. 216 p.).

The seventh annual report of the Michigan historical commission for 1919 may be found in the *Michigan history magazine* for January, 1920. To assist in collecting the records of Michigan counties in the war the commission published *Bulletin* no. 10, *Michigan's war records*, containing suggestions from work being done in other states and outlines for writing the county war histories. The Indiana historical commission has prepared, under the editorial direction of Harlow Lindley, its secretary, a complete history of the centennial year's activities (Indianapolis, 1919. 450 p.).[1] The last general assembly of the state appropriated $20,000 to be expended throughout the Indiana historical commission in collecting and organizing historical data bearing on the state's part in the great war. This work has been intrusted to John W. Oliver, formerly associated with the centennial year's activities of the association.

[1] Reviewed *ante*, 7: 82.

The organization activities of the Ohio archaeological and historical society are usually part of the work of the annual meeting. The proceedings of the thirty-fourth annual meeting at Columbus, August 26, 1919, may be found in the October number of the *Quarterly* published by the society. The meeting was devoted to the reports of the officers and committees of the society and of the Ohio historical commission. The latter is an extralegal body appointed by Governor Cox which has secured the coöperation of a series of county representatives acting under instructions of the state chairman. The place of A. M. Schlesinger, who resigned from the secretaryship of the commission, has been taken by W. Farrand Felch. The annual report of the Western Reserve historical society for 1918-1919 has been published as publication number 101 of the *Collections* of the society (Cleveland, 1919).

At a conference at Washington in September, 1919, the national association of state war history organizations was formed to serve as a clearing house for war history activities. Representatives were present from several of the states of the old Northwest. Since that time the states of Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and perhaps others have formally qualified as members of this association.

The regular annual conference of the directors of the various historical agencies of the northwestern states was held at Chicago in October, 1919. It was voted that the coöperative work of calendaring western material in the Washington archives should be continued in the contract office of the postoffice department down to the year 1862, after which the material in the senate files should be calendared. The work of the Harvard commission on western history has been almost entirely suspended since about the first of October, 1917; efforts are being made, however, to bring about a resumption of the commission's activities.

ACQUISITION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

The State historical society of Wisconsin added 13,339 titles to its library in the year ending October 1, 1919. These included 1,262 bound volumes of newspapers, bringing the newspaper collection up to a total of 27,975 bound volumes. During the year the society acquired eleven bound volumes of photostatic

reproductions of all known existing issues of the *Boston Gazette* for the years 1719-1736. This is one of two sets made for the Massachusetts historical society by Mr. Worthington Ford. Among the original newspaper acquisitions for the year were Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* for the years 1766-1799, inclusive, and the Atchison *Champion of Freedom* from its beginning in 1858 until the year 1892. The historical museum added over 1,200 items, including the splendid collection of native American copper implements brought together by Mr. H. P. Hamilton of Two Rivers, and bequeathed to the society. Recent manuscript acquisitions of the society include a number of significant items. The Buisson papers are a small collection of early nineteenth century, upper Mississippi fur-trade papers; the Charles M. Baker papers are of value for the period from 1830 to 1870 as the private papers of a Lake Geneva pioneer and lawyer who served as chairman of the judiciary committee of the first constitutional convention. Three civil war collections were added: the Frank A. Haskell papers, a collection of war-time letters from a Wisconsin colonel to his brother; the Carter civil war letters, a similar collection of 125 items; and the Bryant papers, a small collection of the private papers of General E. E. Bryant. In cultural and religious history the society is now able to offer the papers of Edward H. Merrell, for forty-five years professor and, for a time, president of Ripon college; and the Updike papers, which suggest the activities of a leading Methodist and, later, Congregational minister in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Indiana historical survey has continued collecting the speeches and correspondence of Indiana senators, especially of Henry S. Lane, Joseph E. McDonald, Oliver P. Morton, David Turpie, and Thomas A. Hendricks. The collections of addresses of Senators Lane and McDonald are practically complete and about one thousand letters to and from Lane have been brought together. The survey has secured fifteen hundred pages in photostatic copy of the official correspondence of Governor Harrison and the national government, 1801-1815; it has also added to its files about one hundred volumes of newspapers, including forty volumes published in New Albany from 1838-1875.

The Illinois historical survey has carried forward its collect-

ing activities without adding any unique items. The Chicago historical society has acquired a group of manuscript papers of Colonel Adolphus S. Hubbard, a small collection of Kinzie papers including three original Indian pay rolls. The society has been peculiarly fortunate in securing the famous Gunther collection; it is not possible to characterize at this date the exact scope of this extensive collection.

The new accessions of the Michigan historical commission are summarized in the January issue of the *Michigan history magazine.*

PUBLICATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

The new constitutional series of the *Collections of the Illinois state historical library* has been inaugurated with the volume of *Illinois constitutions*, edited by Emil Joseph Verlie (Springfield, 1919. 231 p.); this volume reprints the constitutions of 1818, 1848, and 1870. The special features of the volume are the references to judicial decisions interpreting the various sections, and the careful index. The constitutional series has been continued with a second volume, *The constitutional debates of 1847*, edited by Arthur Charles Cole (Springfield, 1919. 1018 p.); for lack of an official edition the debates are compiled from the newspaper records of the day. A biographical volume reprinting *Governor Edward Coles*, by E. B. Washburne, is now in press as the final item in the centennial celebration; it will be volume 15 of the *Illinois historical collections.* The *History of the thirty-third division*, written by Colonel Frederic L. Huidekoper, is now in press. As the first item in a new series of war records collections, it will present a historical narrative supplemented by the source material and an extensive series of maps. Plans for future publications by the Illinois state historical library include the third volume in the British series, by C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, and the second volume of the *George Rogers Clark papers*, by J. A. James. After these there will follow to the press two volumes of *Territorial laws*, edited by J. J. Thompson. These will be reprints of laws of the old Northwest territory, Indiana territory, and of the organized territory of Illinois. A reminiscent account of "Things seen," by Melville E. Stone, who was for a long time editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, has been running in the June and July issues of *Collier's Weekly.*

The State historical society of Wisconsin carries forward its publications with two volumes which have recently come from the press. These are volume 27 of the *Collections*, entitled *The convention of 1846*, edited by Milo M. Quaife (Madison, 1920); and volume 28, *The struggle over ratification, 1846-1847* (Madison, 1920), also edited by Milo M. Quaife. Work is under way on a fourth and final volume of the constitutional series, which will appear as volume 29 of the *Collections*. Financial exigencies have delayed publication of a two-volume comprehensive calendar of the George Rogers Clark papers. Shorter source items appear in various numbers of the *Wisconsin magazine of history*: "Letters of a first Wisconsin volunteer," and "A journal of life in Wisconsin a hundred years ago, kept by Willard Keyes of Newfane, Vermont," in the March and June, 1920, issues.

The plans of the Indiana historical survey for the publication of the Senator Henry S. Lane and the Governor W. H. Harrison material have been rendered uncertain by financial exigencies. A series of source items edited by William G. Bek and published under the heading "The followers of Duden," in the *Missouri historical review* for April-July, 1920, have an interest for students of the German element in Illinois. It is perhaps proper to list in this section the volume of *Addresses delivered by President Wilson on his western tour, September 4 to September 25, 1919* (Washington, 1920. 370 p.). The Michigan historical commission has plans for a series of volumes to be entitled *The papers and messages of the governors of Michigan.*

MEETINGS AND PUBLISHED TRANSACTIONS

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi valley historical association for 1917-1918 were issued as an extra number of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review for May, 1919. The papers relating to the history of the old Northwest are: "Indiana state aid for negro deportation," by Henry N. Sherwood; "The collapse of the steamboat traffic upon the Mississippi; an inquiry into causes," by Paul W. Brown; and "The relation of the county farm bureau and the county agent to the collection of local historical data relating to agriculture," by W. A. Lloyd. The *Proceedings* for 1918-1919 will soon appear as an extra number of the Review.

The regular 1920 meeting of the association was held at Greencastle, Indiana, April 29 to May 1. Papers on the history of the old Northwest were as follows: "Timber culture acts," by William F. Raney; "An historical detective story," by Jacob P. Dunn; "The pilgrim and the melting pot," by Carl Russell Fish; "The undertow of puritan influence," by Arthur L. Kohlemeier; "Introspections of a belated puritan," by Solon J. Buck; "The Moravian mission settlement in Indiana," by Arthur W. Brady; "Jonathan Carver and the Carver grant," by Milo M. Quaife; "Perils of river navigation in the sixties," by William C. Cochran; "Construction of the Miami and Erie canal," by Arthur H. Hirsch; "The significance of the military office in America, 1763-1775," by C. E. Carter; "A house divided," by Arthur C. Cole; and "Lincoln and Herndon," by Jesse W. Weik.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois state historical society for 1918 (Springfield, 1919. 216 p.) presents the following papers: "Illinois—the land of men," Illinois centennial address, April 18, 1919, by Edgar A. Bancroft; "Virginia in the making of Illinois," by H. J. Eckenrode; "The interest Indiana holds in historic Illinois," by Charles W. Moores; and "A hundred years of Sunday school history in Illinois," by Andrew H. Mills. At the May, 1920, meeting of the Illinois state historical society the following papers were submitted: "Benjamin Walsh, first state entomologist of Illinois," by Mrs. Edna Armstrong Tucker; "Born one hundred years ago—Green county," by Charles Bradshaw; "Twenty-five years in an industrial community," by Mary E. McDowell; "Illinois women of the middle period," by Arthur C. Cole; "Some sidelights on Illinois suffrage history," by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout; and "Fifty years with the bench and bar of southern Illinois," by Judge O. A. Harker.

The Wisconsin archaeological society held its annual meeting in Milwaukee on March 17, 1919. The Wisconsin academy of sciences, arts, and letters met with the archaeological society at Milwaukee on March 27 and 28, 1919. Papers on Indian archaeology were presented by Louise P. Kellogg, H. E. Cole, S. A. Barrett, A. Gerend, and others. On labor day, September 1, 1919, the State historical society of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin archaeological society conducted an excursion to the site of ancient Aztalan, near Lake Mills. More than five hundred people,

coming from various points in southern Wisconsin, responded to the invitation of the two societies. The State historical society of Wisconsin held its sixty-seventh annual meeting on October 23, 1919. The annual address before the society was delivered by Major General William G. Haan, commander of the Red Arrow division in the great war.

The fourth upper peninsula meeting of the Michigan pioneer and historical society was held at Menominee on August 6 and 7, 1919. The Reverend Father William Gagnieur read a paper entitled "A short review of most notable events in the history of Sault Ste. Marie, with some gleanings." Other papers bearing on local and state history were given during the session. The forty-fifth annual meeting of the Michigan pioneer and historical society was held at Lansing, June 3-5. The program centered about historical aspects of Michigan in the great war. Among the papers read were the following: "The daughters of the American revolution of Michigan in the great war," by Mrs. William H. Wait; "Michigan agriculture and the food supply during the war," by Mrs. Dora H. Stockman; "The work of the woman's committee, Michigan division, council of national defense," by Caroline Bartlett Crane; "Michigan in the army and the navy," by George L. Lusk; "War work of the church and the Y. M. C. A.," by the Reverend Orlo J. Price; "A phase of historical work in Kent county," by Anna A. Pollard; "Michigan state federation and the great war," by Mrs. Florence I. Bulson; "Michigan in the liberty loans," by Alva M. Cummins; and "War work of the church and the Knights of Columbus," by the Reverend John P. Command.

The Ohio valley historical association held its annual meeting in Berea, Kentucky, in October, 1919; the association hopes soon to publish through the courtesy of the Ohio archaeological and historical society most of the papers read on that occasion. Plans are also being made for its meeting in Columbus, Ohio, next October.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

The *Wisconsin magazine of history* for June, 1919, contains the following interesting articles: "Cyrus Woodman; a character sketch," by Ellis B. Usher; "Recollections of early Racine," by Appleton Morgan; and "The story of Wisconsin," by Louise

Phelps Kellogg, a continuation of the same subject begun in the issue for March, 1919, and running through succeeding numbers. Three issues of volume 3 have been published. They present articles as follows: "The competition of the northwestern states for immigrants," by Theodore C. Blegen; "A tragedy of the Wisconsin pinery"; "Letters of a fifth Wisconsin volunteer"; "A forgotten trail," by James H. McManus; "The Kensington rune stone," by H. R. Holand; "Historic spots in Wisconsin," by W. A. Titus; "Observations of a contract surgeon," by William F. Whyte; "An experiment of the fathers in state socialism," by M. M. Quaife; "The early history of Jonathan Carver," by William Browning; "A physician in pioneer Wisconsin," by John C. Reeve; and "A journal of life in Wisconsin, one hundred years ago, kept by Willard Keyes of Newfane, Vermont."

The two issues of the *Michigan history magazine* for July and October, 1919, present articles as follows: "Historical work after the war," by Augustus C. Carton; "Marquette county and the upper peninsula of Michigan," by Judge John W. Stone; "National society of the United States daughters of 1812, state of Michigan," by Mrs. Lucy Seward Noble; "The forests of the upper peninsula and their place in history," by Alvah L. Sawyer; "Barry county's contribution to the war for democracy," by Philip T. Colgrove; "Place names in the upper peninsula," by William F. Gagnieur; "The secret of the elder pith: a legend," by James Henderson; "History of the Marquette ore docks," by D. H. Merritt; "The Edward K. Warren foundation of Three Oaks, Michigan," by George M. Fox; "The Michigan railroad commission," by Russell D. Kilborn; "Michigan and the great war," by the Honorable George L. Lusk; "President Andrew Johnson at Albion," by O. E. McCutcheon; "Michigan agriculture and the food supply during the war," by Mrs. Dora Stockman; "Indian wars and warriors of Michigan," by the Reverend Norman B. Wood; "Michigan state federation of women's clubs and the great war," by Mrs. Florence I. Bulson; "Past presidents of the Michigan authors' association," by Mrs. Pruella Janet Sherman; "War work of the American Red Cross of Michigan," by Sidney T. Miller; "Recollections of civil war conditions in the copper country," by O. W. Robinson; "Lewis

Cass and the Saginaw treaty of 1819," by Henry E. Naegely; "Essential conditions of permanent world peace," by Harry Hartman; and "Red Cloud and Dewdrop," by Flavius J. Littlejohn. The belated issue of the *Magazine* for January, 1920, contains the following items: "The University of Michigan and the training of her students for the war," by Arthur Lyon Cross; "Fort Gratiot and its builder, General Charles Gratiot," by William L. Jenks; "Pioneer reminiscences of Delta county," by Mrs. Mary K. Brennan; "The true story of Edison's childhood and boyhood," by Caroline F. Ballentine; "The treaty of Saginaw, 1819," by Fred Dustin; "The United States boys' working reserve: boy soldiers of the soil," by L. B. W.; "Rise and progress of Hope college," by Ame Vennema; and "Influence of the French inhabitants of Detroit upon its early political life," by Leigh G. Cooper.

Three numbers of the *Journal of the Illinois state historical society* have appeared during the past year, carrying it down to January, 1919. The following papers are included in these numbers: "Illinois, the land of men," the centennial address by Edgar A. Bancroft; "Illinois and Randolph county," by William A. Meese; "Journalism in Illinois before the thirties," by Carl R. Miller; "Genesis of the courts of Tazewell county, Illinois," by William Reid Curran; "The Isaac B. Essex family, pioneers in three counties," by William R. Sandham; "Slavery in Douglas county, Illinois," by James L. Reat; "Benjamin Franklin Gardner: an early physician of Illinois," by George W. Brock, M.D.; "A runaway meteor," by William Epler; "History of the Episcopal church in Edwards county, Illinois," by Mrs. E. S. Barkdull; "Presbyterianism in Stephenson county, Illinois," by Mrs. D. A. Knowlton; "An account of the unveiling of a monument to W. H. Herndon, at Oak Ridge cemetery, May 30, 1918," by Harry E. Barker; "Biographical sketch of Elihu Bone and his descendants," by David McCoy Bone; "The development of the free public high school in Illinois to 1860," by Paul E. Belting; "The first official thanksgiving in Illinois," by Isabel Jamison; "George Washington, land speculator," by Ada Hope Hixon; "Indian corn. Genesis of Reid's yellow dent," by William Reid Curran; "The Cannon-Starks Indian massacre and captivity," by Milo Custer; "Historical sketch of the Bap-

tist denomination in Livingston county, Illinois," by the Reverend Edwin Benden; "History of Christ church, Carlyle, Illinois," by Mabel Hall Robinson; and "History of the Episcopal church, Pulaski county, Illinois," by Frances L. Hough.

The *Illinois Catholic historical review*, July, 1919, to April, 1920, presents the following papers to its readers: "The French in Illinois," by Joseph J. Thompson; "A bit of history of the Franciscans in Illinois," by the Reverend A. Zurbonsen; "Old Kaskaskia days and ways," by Stuart Brown; "A chapter in Illinois finances," by Joseph J. Thompson; "Transcripts from the Spanish archives at the Newberry library," by William Stetson Merrill; "Illinois' first citizen—Pierre Gibault," by Joseph J. Thompson; and "The Beaubiens of Chicago," by Frank G. Beaubien.

The *Indiana magazine of history* for June, 1919, has two important articles: "The coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and their neighbors," by John E. Inglehart; and "The American marines at Verdun, Chateau-Thierry, Bouresches and Belleau Woods," by Harrison Cale. The September and December issues for 1919 contain articles on "Pioneer experiences in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana," by Spencer Records; "Journal of Ebenezer Chamberlain of a trip from Maine to Indiana, 1832," by Louise Fogle; "Indiana in the Mexican war," by R. C. Buley; "Memoir of Colonel Isaac White," by George Fauntleroy White; and "The New Albany and Salem railroad," by George Carter Perring.

The recent issues of the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* include: "High lights in Ohio literature," by Emilius O. Randall; "Siege of Fort Meigs"; "Birthplace of John Brough"; "Lutheranism in Perry county, Ohio," by C. L. Martzolff; also articles on "The Ohio workmen's compensation law," by H. R. Mengert; and "Ohio's German-language press and the peace negotiations," by Carl Wittke. The *Western Pennsylvania historical magazine* for October, 1919, contains articles on "Pittsburgh's first burying-ground," by Charles W. Dahlinger; "Andrew Carnegie," and "Life and times of William Findley," by Robert M. Ewing.

In the Mississippi Valley Historical Review have appeared the following articles: "The khaki journalists, 1917-1919," by

Arthur M. Schlesinger; "Western travel, 1800-1820," by Harlow Lindley; "The French council of commerce in relation to American trade," by Ella Lonn; "The United States factory system for trading with the Indians, 1796-1822," by Royal B. Way; "Isaac Shelby and the Genet mission," by Archibald Henderson; "Steamboating on the upper Mississippi after the civil war: a Mississippi magnate," by Lester B. Shippee; and "Daniel Wolsey Voorhees," by Henry D. Jordan.

The *Catholic historical review*, July-October, 1919, presents to its readers a paper entitled "Paul de Saint Pierre, the first German-American priest of the west," by the Reverend John Rothensteimer; the January, 1920, issue has an article on "The Catholic church in America in 1819," by the Reverend J. Wilfred Parsons, in which the author treats of Catholic conditions in the old Northwest as well as in other sections of the country. An article entitled "New lights on Lincoln's boyhood," by Arthur E. Morgan, may be found in the *Atlantic monthly* for February, 1920. The July, 1919, number of the *Iowa journal of history and politics* presents a discussion of "The movement of American settlers into Wisconsin and Minnesota," by Cardinal Goodwin, and in the January, 1920, number is found an account of "The internal grain trade of the United States, 1850-1860," by Louis Bernard Schmidt. "From Chatham to Harper's Ferry," a phase of John Brown's raid, by Frederic Landon, may be found in the *Canadian magazine* for October, 1919.

MONOGRAPHS AND GENERAL TREATISES

The output of secondary material has now become nearly normal, both in quantity and in subject matter. A number of items should be listed as containing material of value for various phases of the history of the middle west. Among others are *The agrarian crusade, a chronicle of the farmer in politics*, by Solon J. Buck (New Haven, 1920. 215 p.);[2] *The liberal republican movement, history of the "mugwump" revolt*, by Earle D. Ross (New York, 1919. 267 p.);[3] *Native villages and village sites east of the Mississippi*, by David I. Bushnell (Washington, 1920. 111 p.); *The Mormon saints; the story of Joseph Smith, his golden Bible, and the church he founded*, by George Seibel

[2] To be reviewed later.

[3] To be reviewed later.

(Pittsburgh, 1919, 103 p.);[4] and *The foundations of Mormonism, a study of the fundamental facts in the history and doctrines of the Mormons from original sources*, by William Earl la Rue (Chicago, 1919. 243 p.).[5] A study of the *Development of the high school curriculum in the north central states from 1860 to 1918*, by J. E. Stout, will soon be ready for distribution. A number of new ventures into the historical field by candidates for the doctorate should be listed here: *The Norse immigration*, by J. O. Hall (Columbia); *The lumber industry and trade*, by H. F. Holtzclaw (Johns Hopkins); *The west and the nullification controversy*, by W. C. Benson (Chicago); *The history of immigration to the United States*, by M. L. Hansen (Harvard); *The migration of New England stock into the old Northwest, 1820-1860*, by L. D. Stilwel (Harvard); *The Northwest and its relations to Canada after 1849*, by T. C. Blegen (Minnesota); *The rise of the anti-trust movement to 1893*, by H. C. Nordlie (Wisconsin); and *The Mormon migrations*, by A. S. Roberts (Harvard).

The three remaining volumes of the *Centennial history of Illinois* have made their appearance within the past year. Volume 1 is *The Illinois country, 1673-1818*, by Clarence W. Alvord (Springfield, 1920. 524 p.);[6] volume 4, *The industrial state, 1870-1893*, by Ernest L. Bogart and Charles M. Thompson (Springfield, 1920. 553 p.);[7] and volume 5, *The modern commonwealth, 1893-1918*, by Ernest L. Bogart and John M. Mathews (Springfield, 1920. 544 p.).[8] The Illinois state historical society is planning to publish an exhaustive life of Stephen A. Douglas which has been prepared by Frank E. Stevens. New items of Lincolniana continue to appear; among them: *Lincoln and the convention of 1860; an address*, by A. G. Proctor (Chicago, 1920. 29 p.); *A short life of Abraham Lincoln*, by Ralph Shirley (New York, 1919. 188 p.);[9] *The book of Lincoln*, compiled by Mary Wright-Davis (New York, 1919. 399 p.);[10] and *Rare Lincoln-*

[4] To be reviewed later.
[5] Reviewed in this number.
[6] To be reviewed later.
[7] To be reviewed later.
[8] To be reviewed later.
[9] To be reviewed later.
[10] To be reviewed later.

iana (*Magazine of history*, extra number 65, Tarrytown, 1919. 68 p.).

A notable Illinois biography has appeared in the *Life of Walter Quentin Gresham, 1832-1895*, by Matilda Gresham (2 vols. Chicago, 1919. 875 p.). Other Illinois items of the year are: *Illinois, a historical resumé*, by H. H. Bancroft (Springfield, 1919. 13 p.); *One hundred years in Illinois*, by John McLean (Chicago, 1919. 298 p.); *Illinois pioneer days*, by E. B. Lewis (Litchfield, Illinois, 1919. 80 p.); *Chicago yesterdays*, by Caroline Kirkland (Chicago, 1920. 310 p.); *The Chicago race riots, July, 1919*, by Carl Sandburg (New York, 1919. 71 p.). A doctor's dissertation on *The development of the free public school in Illinois to 1860*, by Paul E. Belting has been published serially in the *Journal of the Illinois state historical society*. *County Michigan*, by James C. Mills (2 vols. Saginaw, 1919. 792, 450 p.) has made its appearance. A small item of some value for Michigan history is *History of earliest Ann Arbor*, by Nettie I. S. Vander Werker (Ann Arbor, 1920. 48 p.). Preparation is now under way on a doctoral dissertation entitled *Dutch settlement in western Michigan, 1847-1864* (Columbia).

Several pieces of research work are under way at the State historical society of Wisconsin. Miss Louise P. Kellogg has been at work for over a year on a history of Wisconsin to 1830. This is planned to be the first volume of what will eventually constitute a comprehensive three-volume history of the state. Another member of the staff, Mrs. Kate E. Levi, is preparing a history of the press in Wisconsin to accompany a complete annotated check list of the journals of the state. Miss Martha Edwards is completing a volume on government patronage of Indian nations which will appear later in the *Wisconsin historical studies*. An interesting study of *The Western Reserve and the fugitive slave law*, by William C. Cochran, has been published by the Western Reserve historical society as number 101 of its *Collections* (Cleveland, 1920. 235 p.).[11] Other Ohio items are: *A story of early Toledo*, by John H. Doyle (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1919. 135 p.); *Salmon Portland Chase, undergraduate and pedagogue*, by Arthur M. Schlesinger (Columbus, 1919. 161 p.);[12] *On the Ohio*, by Bennett Abdy (New York, 1919. 300

[11] To be reviewed later.

[12] To be reviewed later.

p.);[13] *City manager in Dayton; four years of commission-manager government, 1914-1917; and comparisons with four preceding years under the mayor-council plan, 1910-1913*, by Chester E. Rightor (New York, 1919. 271 p.);[14] *The battle of Lake Erie*, by Charles O. Paullin (Cleveland, 1919); and a biography of *John Brown, a soldier of fortune*, by Hill P. Wilson (Boston, 1919. 450 p.), which covers the Ohio phase of Brown's career. A new doctoral dissertation in the field of Ohio history has been announced: *The nominating system in Ohio*, by C. V. Wolfe (Chicago).

Indiana items are distinctly limited this year. A publication of the Indiana historical society, *Early Indianapolis*, by Laura F. Hodges (Indianapolis, 1920. 27 p.), should be noted. Two doctoral dissertations are announced: *The relation between whites and Indians in Indiana*, by Margaret C. Norton (Chicago); and the *History of educational legislation in Indiana to 1860*, by J. F. Gonnelly (Chicago).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The *Writings on American history for 1917*, by Grace G. Griffin (New Haven, 1919. 181 p.), carries down through another year the general list of historical publications. The lists in the *Historical outlook* continue to be most useful. *A bibliography of Virginia*, part 3, the acts and journals of the general assembly of the colony, 1619-1776 (Richmond, 1919. 71 p.), has a substantial value for the student of the early history of the old Northwest. A commercial bibliography issued by the Arthur H. Clark company entitled: *The United States; a catalog of books relating to the history of its various states, counties, and cities, and offered for sale at reasonable prices* (Cleveland, 1920) may, perhaps, be noted. The *Index to United States documents relating to foreign affairs, 1828-1861*, by Adelaide R. Hasse (Washington, 1920. 795-1331 p.), has a limited value for this field.

Arthur C. Cole

University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

[13] To be reviewed later.
[14] To be reviewed later.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Some Sources for Mississippi Valley Agricultural History

When the history of American agriculture is written not a little of it will be from the observations of European travelers — so plentiful for nearly every period of the nation's history. No matter who or what the traveler was, the predominance of agriculture in our life has compelled his attention. When, as often happened, he was interested in farming at home his observations have been more plentiful and more valuable. Moreover, some have come on purpose to study agricultural conditions. Especially has this been true of the British. Beginning with the anonymous author of *American husbandry*,[1] almost every decade has brought such visitors. Since 1815 the recurrence of agricultural depression and the realization that England could no longer hope to feed its swelling population have been added incentives. The possibilities for colonization of English farmers and agricultural laborers, in Canada under the British flag if possible, in the United States among English-speaking peoples at least, aroused intense interest and provoked some really scientific inquiry. Until late in the nineteenth century practically every inquirer was quickly convinced that the greater opportunity for the prospective emigrant lay south of the boundary line. Prominent among the men who have made contributions to our knowledge of agriculture in early days are Gilbert Imlay, Thomas Cooper, Isaac Weld, Jr., Thomas Ashe, Morris Birkbeck, James Flint, Patrick Shirreff, Captain Robert Barclay, Robert Russell, James Caird, and Finlay Dun.[2] The last four deliberately gave their books agricultural titles. The dispro-

[1] *American husbandry* (London, 1775).

[2] The important contributions made by these men follow: Gilbert Imlay, *A topographical description of the western territory of North America; containing a succinct account of its climate, natural history, population, agriculture, manners and customs, with an ample description of the several divisions into which that country is partitioned, and an accurate statement of the various tribes of Indians that inhabit the frontier country. To which is annexed, a delineation of the laws and government of the state of Kentucky* . . . (London, 1792); Thomas Cooper, *Some information respecting America* (London, 1794); Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels through the states of*

portionate number of Scots in the list reflects the high state to which Scottish agriculture had been carried at a comparatively early day.

The talents and training of Caird and Dun fitted them eminently for special investigation and give their reports something of the character of expert testimony. Their observations are so broad and well founded, and cover the northern portion of the Mississippi valley so thoroughly for single narratives, and at such opportune times, that it seems worth while to work out something of an appreciation of their value as sources for the history of the Mississippi valley and its agriculture.

Caird was a Scot who first became known by his book on English agriculture in 1850-1851. Because of the widespread complaint at the repeal of the corn laws and the claim that free trade was ruining the farmers, the *London Times* sent him on a tour through all the counties covered by Arthur Young in 1780. Caird's careful observations and calculations make his book the most valuable single source available for a knowledge of British agriculture in the middle of the nineteenth century. Other books on *High farming, West of Ireland,* and *Letters on the corn crops* followed. He became a member of parliament and was knighted. To the end of his life he was looked upon as an authority on English farming. In the fall of 1858 Caird made a journey to study prairie farming in America. After landing at New York, his route took him up the Hudson, to Burlington, Vermont, into Canada, from Montreal to London, thence to Detroit and Chi-

North America, and the provinces of upper and lower Canada, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797 (London, 1800); Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America performed in 1806, for the purpose of exploring the rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and ascertaining the produce and condition of their banks and vicinity* (London, 1808); Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a journey in America, from the coast of Virginia to the territory of Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1817; London, 1818); James Flint, *Letters from America, containing observations on the climate and agriculture of the western states, the manners of the people, the prospects of emigrants . . .* (Edinburgh, 1822); Patrick Shirreff, *A tour through North America; together with a comprehensive view of the Canadas and United States. As adapted for agricultural emigration* (Edinburgh, 1835); Robert Barclay, *Agricultural tour in the United States and upper Canada, with miscellaneous notices* (Edinburgh, 1842); Robert Russell, *North America, its agriculture and climate; containing observations on the agriculture and climate of Canada, the United States, and the island of Cuba* (Edinburgh, 1857); James P. Caird, *Prairie farming in America; with notes by the way on Canada and the United States* (London, 1859); and Finlay Dun, *American farming and food* (London, 1881).

cago. Illinois was covered in most detailed fashion; he journeyed from Chicago to De Soto and from Centralia to Galena by the Illinois Central, after which he spent a month driving with team and wagon in a zigzag line from north to south. Caird then traveled by rail and steamer to "St. Paul's," down the river to St. Louis, thence to Washington and New York, whence he sailed for England. His observations on farming are most detailed for Illinois, with which he was greatly impressed, and next for Michigan, Minnesota, and Ohio.

Twenty-one years later, in the fall of 1879, Finlay Dun made a somewhat similar journey. His observations were recounted in letters to the *Times,* and later were published under the title *American food and farming.* Like Caird, Dun was a Scot. He had been connected with great estates in England and was the author of various works on agriculture, including *Landlords and tenants in Ireland* and *Veterinary medicines, their actions and uses.* For at least a part of his journey he traveled with Read and Pell, royal commissioners sent to report on American agriculture, and R. Cox of Edinburgh. Dun's itinerary carried him from Boston to New York, from there to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, through Ohio to Detroit, and on to Chicago. From Chicago he traveled to Fargo, thence down the Red river valley and to the north of Winnipeg. Turning south he went by the way of St. Paul to the southwest corner of the state of Minnesota, then along the Missouri river through southeastern Dakota, western Iowa, and northeastern Missouri to Kansas City; from there he followed the line of the Kansas Pacific out beyond Hays City to visit some English settlers and then turned east, going by the way of St. Louis. His observations close with a description of shorthorns, horses, and Bourbon whisky as produced by a certain Honorable Thomas J. Magibben of Fairview, Cynthiana, Kentucky.

These two books present a remarkable picture of the progress of American agriculture in the sixties and seventies. And there is much more — the reflected light from English agricultural and industrial conditions, the settlements of English and Scotch in Illinois, Dakota, and Kansas, and the growth of railroads, cities, and industries in the central west. In fact, no account of agricultural and economic development in the west can be complete

without them. Both men were profoundly impressed with the extensive use of improved agricultural machinery in the prairie country; in Dun's more detailed descriptions of the operations of plows, reapers, and threshers it is easy to read the wonderful story of twenty years' advance in this prime essential of expansion. Both were intensely interested in livestock raising, they attended fairs in Michigan and Ohio and visited many herds throughout the old Northwest, and their concrete statements give us a valuable chapter in the history of this branch of farming in the Mississippi valley. Praise for American farming methods is given grudgingly by both and in the forced admissions of Dun there is much evidence of improvement in livestock raising since Caird's visit.

Above all else, however, the striking feature of Caird's and Dun's accounts when taken together is the clear and accurate record they give of the expansion and conquest of the great Northwest. Caird describes the meat-packing business in Chicago; Dun saw this, but was even more interested in the lumber and flour-milling industries of Minneapolis. Caird in 1858 found sheep-raising on the decline in Ohio and the extensive sheep ranges, where flocks numbered as high as 25,000 head, on the prairies of Illinois; Dun found sheep-raising transferred far beyond the Mississippi. In 1858 Caird found open prairie, large quantities of wild game, pioneer farming, and some beginnings of bonanza farming in Illinois and Michigan. Dun found those parts, so far as he studied them, highly developed in 1879 and already becoming old countries as Caird had found Ohio at the earlier date. On the other hand, in his description of the Red river and trans-Missouri country he gives us a picture strangely similar even in detail to the earlier account of Illinois. The civil war, the homestead act, and the Pacific railroads had accelerated the westward movement; improved machinery made possible bonanza farming of wheat as well as of livestock; and standing far out in the old Northwest Dun gives us a picture of the rapidly disappearing frontier, with open country, wild game, pioneers, and bonanza farming on a far larger scale than ever before. Unconsciously the two men have given a concrete study of the march of the frontier.

Raymond G. Taylor

Some Documents Relating to Jefferson Davis at West Point

The documents which follow are drawn from the records of the United States military academy and from the files of the judge-advocate-general's office, war department, Washington, D. C. The title-page of Rawle, *View of the constitution*, is copied from the volume in the library of the New Orleans bar association. Davis entered the military academy in 1824 and was graduated in 1828. Few members of his class attained fame, but in other classes while Davis was a cadet were members who later were well known, among them Robert E. Lee, Robert Anderson, Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston, Heintzelman, Silas Casey, Buford, Pleasonton, Leonidas Polk, O. M. Mitchel, W. H. Emory, Huger, Pendleton, Magruder, L. B. Northrop, Philip St. George Cooke, A. A. Humphreys, Church, Bartlett, Bache, T. H. Holmes, and Sidney Burbank. His most intimate friends, except Polk and Albert Sidney Johnston, later were federal generals. This information has been collected in preparation for a biography of Jefferson Davis.

Walter L. Fleming

Class Standing of Jefferson Davis, 1825-1828

The class records of Cadet Jefferson Davis given below were transcribed from the records at the United States military academy at West Point. At the mid year, or January, examinations only the relative class standing is given; at the June examinations both the relative class rank and the grades in each subject are given. After the statistics of each year notes are made which are condensed from the original record relating to conduct marks, demerits, etc. The biographical detail heading the lists gives the record of Davis as it is in the record books at West Point.

The West Point grades were not on the simple percentage basis as are most school and college numerical grades. Each subject of study had a value ranging from 100 to 300; to each recitation was attached a certain value in points; the aggregate of these points made the grade in the subject. The passing grade was two-fifths of the total value in points. Consequently the low grades that Cadet Davis made — 41, 52, 55, 62, etc. — do not signify extremely low attainments, but correspond some-

what to the 70, 75, 80 of the modern college grades. His class was ninety-one strong in January, 1825, and only thirty-three were graduated in 1828.

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Born in Kentucky (Mother, Mrs. Jane Davis). Appointed from Woodville, Wilkinson County, Mississippi. Admitted September 1, 1824; aged 17 years, 2 months when admitted. Graduated and promoted Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Infantry July 1, 1828; resigned June 30, 1835. Died December 6, 1889, at New Orleans, Louisiana, aged 82.

1825

Standing, January examination, 1825 — 4th Class, 91 members:

Mathematics	54
French	19

[No conduct standing.]

Standing, June Examination, 1825 — 4th Class, 66 members:

		Relative value of subjects
Mathematics	43	103 out of 200 — value of subject
French	18	83 " " 100 " " "
General standing	32	186 " " 300 " " "

[No conduct. Conduct was not established until September 24, 1825, at which time demerits began to count by a scale of 10.]

1826

Standing, January examination, 1826 — 3d Class, 54 members:

Mathematics	34
French	16
Drawing (human figure)	23

Conduct not taken into consideration.

Standing, June examination, 1826 — 3rd Class, 49 members:

		Relative value of subjects
Mathematics	33	154 out of 300 value of subject
French	16	78 " " 100 " " "
Drawing (human figure and topography)	15	52 " " 100 " " "
General merit	29	284 " " 500 " " "

Conduct not embraced in General Standing.

Conduct for year ending June 30, 1826, No. 156. [This embraced the whole corps of 222 members.]

Demerits for year, 120. [Cadets having a number expressing their demerit on the General Conduct Roll greater than 200 for any one year, shall be declared deficient in conduct and be recommended by the Academic Board to the War Department for discharge.]

1827

Standing, January examination, 1827 — 2nd Class, 43 members:

Natural Philosophy	29
Chemistry	23
Drawing (topography)	39

[Conduct not taken into consideration.]

Standing, June examination, 1827 — 2nd Class, 37 members:

Natural & Experimental Philosophy,	39	130	out	of	300	value	of	subject
Chemistry	22	55	"	"	100	"	"	"
Drawing (landscape & topography)	33	41	"	"	100	"	"	"
General Merit	29	266	"	"	500	"	"	"

Conduct not embraced in General standing.

Conduct for the year ending June 30, 1827, for whole Corps of Cadets, No. 101 out of 202 — number of cadets. Demerit 70 for year.

1828

Standing, January examination, 1828 — 1st Class, 34 members:

Engineering & Science of War	25
Rhetoric & Moral Philosophy	13
Chemistry & Mineralogy	22
Artillery	26

[Conduct not taken into consideration.]

Standing, June examination — 1st Class, 34 members:

Engineering & Science of War	25
Rhetoric & Moral Philosophy	13
Chemistry & Mineralogy	22
Artillery	26

Conduct for the year ending June 30, 1828 — for the whole Corps of Cadets — No. 163 out of 207, number of Cadets. Demerit for year 137.

General Standing, June 1828, 1st Class: No. 23 in General Standing

Mathematics	154	out	of	300	value of subject

French	78	"	"	100	"	"	"
Natural Philosophy . . .	130	"	"	300	"	"	"
Drawing	41	"	"	100	"	"	"
Engineering & Science of War .	174	"	"	300	"	"	"
Chemistry & Mineralogy . .	116	"	"	200	"	"	"
Rhetoric & Moral Philosophy .	146	"	"	200	"	"	"
Tactics	132	"	"	200	"	"	"
Artillery	62	"	"	100	"	"	"
Conduct	219	"	"	300	"	"	"
General Merit	1252	"	"	2100	"	"	"

[Conduct did not form a part of the general standing of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th classes until June, 1838.]

Recommended by Academic Board for Infantry.

A Benny Havens Episode

The following documents relate to an escapade which occurred at the close of Davis' first year at the academy. Jefferson Davis, Theophilus Mead, Samuel J. Hays, James Allison, and James F. Swift enjoyed the distinction of being the first cadets who were court-martialed for drinking at Benny Havens' place. Swift was acquitted and the others were sentenced to be dismissed, but Davis and Hays "were pardoned and returned to duty" by President John Quincy Adams. Each cadet appeared as a witness in his own defense and also submitted a formal written defense.

[August, 1825]

Mr. President & Gentlemen of the Court.

It is with feelings of the greatest embarrassment that I address you, tried by laws which with respect to my knowledge have but just sprung into existence since the deeds for which I am arraigned were done.

I conclude that (in the spirit of the term) these laws can be considered only as "ex post facto" since, isolated as we are from the rest of the world, orders can date their existence only from the time when published in the corps. The efficasey of those regulations then cannot be said to have commenced prior to our arrest, as we had no opportunity to know what they were, or had any order to obey them if perchance we had known them, as I before stated said laws must be held as "*ex post facto*" *laws.*

Having plead guilty to the charge of leaving the post circumstances may perhaps in some degree justify the deed. It will be recollected that

on the 31st ultimo the rain was excessive, my tent was flooded so that I could not remain in it with any satisfaction, the disperse bugle blew, I met by chance with some of my friends who like myself were at a loss to know what to do, and all in want of comfortable shelter, thus urged by circumstances without premeditation wandered too far.

Having been further charged with using spiritous and intoxicating liquor, and mark what testimony to establish it, that I was seen in company with cadets and the witness judged more from surrounding circumstances than my conduct that I had used spiritous liquor, was embarrassed — perhaps the effect of drinking, why this conclusion, the fact of being caught was certainly enough to have confused any cadet, and it appears to me that this conclusion would have been far more immediate. I cannot believe that the Court would if previously acquainted with the circumstances have shown so little respect to my feelings as to have charged me (on such weak evidence) with conduct so contrary to principles of a soldier & a man of honor.

Having without due meditation plead guilty to the charge of visiting a public house and place where liquors are sold would wish here if in order to qualify so much as relates to calling B. Havens a public house as I believe this cannot be established, admit liquors are sold at the place above mentioned, I think it a matter of the smallest importance as the construction which I would suppose was intended to be laid on this paragraph, was if a cadet visited such a place and *bought* spirituous liquors, it could not have been for merely visiting such a place since the stores which we are allowed to visit do contain spirituous liquors and these liquors are sold. — As no evidence has been produced to prove that we did procure or use spiritous liquor it matters not whether the storekeeper was obliged not to sell it or not under such obligation.

I do trust that the Court will bear in mind the maxim that it is better a hundred guilty should escape than one righteous person be condemned, and on testimony so circumstantial shall confidentially look forward to an honorable acquital.

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Engineer Department,
Washington, Aug. 29, 1825

M. A. Orders No. 19.

At the General Court Martial of which Major W. J. Worth of the 1st Regiment of Artillery is President first convened at West Point, in the State of New York, by virtue of Orders No. 41 issued by the Adjutant General of the Army on the 19th of May 1825 was reconvened by virtue of orders No. 62 issued by the same officer on the 22nd day of July last which Court commenced its sessions under the second convention on the

30th of July and continued it by adjournment to the 8th of August last was tried [Cadets Mead, Hays, Allison, Swift and] Cadet Jefferson Davis on the following Charges and Specifications, viz.

Charge 1st. Violating the 1415 Paragraph of the General Army Regulations.

Specification. In this that the said Jefferson Davis did on Sunday the 31st July 1825 go beyond the limits prescribed to Cadets at West Point without permission.

Charge 2nd. Violating the 1408th Paragraph of the General Army Regulations.

Specification 1st. In this that the said Cadet Davis on Sunday the 31st July 1825 at some place in the vicinity of West Point did drink spirituous and intoxicating liquor.

Specification 2nd. In this that the said Cadet Davis on Sunday the 31st July 1825 did go to a public house or place where spiritous liquors are sold kept by one Benjamin Havens at or near Buttermilk Falls and distant about two miles from West Point.

The Prisoner pleaded to the 1st Charge and its Specifications, Guilty; to the 1st Specification 2nd Charge, Not Guilty; to the 2nd Specification 2nd Charge, Guilty; to the 2nd Charge, guilty of violating so much of the 1408th Paragraph of the General Army Regulations as prohibits going to a public house or place where liquors are sold and not guilty of the remainder.

The Court after mature deliberation on the testimony adduced find the Prisoner Cadet Jefferson Davis guilty of both the 1st and 2nd Charges preferred against him and their Specifications. The Court sentence him to be dismissed from the service of the United States; but in consideration of his former good conduct respectfully recommend the remission of said sentence.

The foregoing proceedings are approved. . .

Cadets Hays and Davis in consideration of the recommendation of the General Court Martial are pardoned and will return to their duty.

. . . . . .

By order of the Secretary of War:

ALEX. MACOMB,

Major General, Inspr. of the Mil. Academy.

Rawle on the Constitution at West Point

There has been some controversy as to the use of Rawle, *View of the constitution,* as a text at West Point in the time of Davis. Rawle held strongly the doctrines of state sovereignty and seces-

sion. After the civil war, when Davis was charged with treason, his lawyers proposed to offer the book in evidence when the case came to trial. It is not yet certain whether Davis studied Rawle or Kent. The book from which the following title-page was copied was the property of Cadet Nicholas St. John Durell and was presented in 1899 to the New Orleans bar association library. S. P. Heintzelman of Durell's class mentioned in a diary the use of Rawle as a text. See Latta, *Was secession taught at West Point?*

A View | of the | Constitution | of the | United States of America | By William Rawle. | Philadelphia: | H. C. Carey & I. Lea — Chestnut Street. | 1825. |

On the upper right-hand corner of the title-page is written: "Cadet N. S. J. Durell U. S. Military Academy, West Point, 1826."

BOOK REVIEWS

The paths of inland commerce. A chronicle of trail, road, and waterway. By Archer B. Hulbert. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1920. 211 p. $3.50)

The progress both in historical scholarship and in the author's knowledge is shown by a comparison of this mature and carefully wrought volume with the earlier *Historic highways of America*, published some fifteen to eighteen years ago by the same author. The latter, Mr. Hulbert says somewhat deprecatingly in his bibliographical note, was "a collection of monographs of varying quality written with youthful enthusiasm." The enthusiasm has remained, and has deepened and broadened with the author's enlarging acquaintance with the subject, until it has evoked a notable epic of transportation.

From the natural pathways of internal commerce the American people in eighty-five years built up a system of highways, canals, and iron roads that has changed the whole face of the continent, and the psychology of its inhabitants.

It is pleasant to connect, as Mr. Hulbert does so convincingly, the beginnings of the story with the first American president, a man of vision and of a "continental mind." His conception of the necessity and the result of improved intercourse between the interior and the seacoast had, says the author, "a prescience almost uncanny." The whole narrative reads like a chapter from Hebrews and is a recital of the faith that removes mountains, that becomes "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." But whether we term it faith, or call it by the more characteristic American word "enterprise," the deeds are those of men like Fitch, Fulton, Clinton, and Shreve, who were working to fulfill the vision of a united nation. Even more characteristic was the faith and the coöperation of groups of men, such as the merchants of Baltimore, the stockholders in the early canals, ever depending upon that virile, daring, inventive group, the early American engineers.

In so vast a story the element of choice is great. For the most part, Mr. Hulbert has chosen well, reciting typical undertakings the value of which was more than local or even state wide. At times one regrets what he has discarded. For example, in noting the principal portages

between the upper lakes and the Mississippi he is moved to tell of the Chicago-Illinois canal, but not of the Fox-Wisconsin improvement. Most of the enterprises he describes felt the embarrassment of success. No sooner were they completed than the flood of traffic made necessary their enlargement or their superseding. The limitation involved in the fact that another of the series is devoted to the *Railroad builders* prevents Mr. Hulbert from carrying his story to completion. He does, however, prove that by means of the paths of inland commerce the nation was unconsciously preparing for the crisis of 1861; and he hopes that the dreamers and promoters builded better than they knew, that their greater service was in stifling provincialism, in battering down the Chinese walls of prejudice and separation, and in making possible a united republic.

As an integral part of the *Chronicles of America* series, and as a separate entity, Mr. Hulbert's book is important, interesting to both the student of American life and the general reader of delightful volumes.

LOUISE P. KELLOGG

The national government of the United States. By Everett Kimball, Ph.D., professor of government, Smith college. (New York: Ginn and company, 1920. 629 p. $3.60)

The new American government and its work. By James T. Young. (New York: The Macmillan company, 1919. 679 p.)

Dr. Kimball's book represents a novel departure. The larger colleges and universities are to-day separating the study of the national government from that of the commonwealths with excellent results. Up to this time there has been no adequate text dealing exclusively with the national government. In satisfying this need so well, the author has performed a good service.

He has, too, avoided the pitfall of dealing with the purely ephemeral. He stresses not the most recent legislation but the constitution itself, not so much the latest decisions as those of long standing. He does not fail, in discussing the powers of the three departments, to come down to very modern times, to show new applications of old principles; yet one is left always with the feeling that it is the older and more basic rules which govern. His emphasis is upon roots and stem, not upon fruits. Nothing could be more salutary than this for the student in his novitiate.

Limiting himself strictly to the national government, Dr. Kimball has been able to maintain a better balance, to exercise a keener discrimination between important and unimportant matters, than would perhaps have been possible had he tried to cover more ground. At the same time he has been able to go more thoroughly into his subject. There is, in fact, some reason for saying that there is too much detail in the

book for beginning students. This criticism is, however, subject to some discount. The numerous quotations and footnotes, and the very valuable marginal topic headings make each page look a great deal more cluttered and difficult than it really is.

One is not disposed to quarrel with the author concerning any of the larger questions of which he treats. His order of presentation is good. Beginning with several chapters of constitutional history, he treats next of the parties and the election of the president, then of the president's powers and of the organization of the administration; next come four chapters on the organization, procedure, and powers of congress, and two upon the organization and powers of the judiciary; and the book closes with six chapters upon the outstanding functions of the national government — war, finance, the regulation of commerce, foreign affairs, and the government of territories. The discussion is fortified throughout by brief — sometimes too brief — quotations from the constitution, the statutes, the decisions, and representative authorities. The articulation of parts is satisfactory and the proportions are good. There is no new interpretation of our national system, for Dr. Kimball is not a Bryce nor a Woodrow Wilson, but there is compensation for this lack in the scientific tone and the uniformly high level of the treatment.

There will be future editions of this work, and it is, therefore, not unkind to point out some minor errors. Few scholars will accept the following statement (p. 82): "The Constitution by itself would be an interesting and instructive document setting forth political theories; it would be like any scheme for an ideal Utopia." It is interesting to recall here Woodrow Wilson's assertion that "The constitution contains no theories. It is as practical a document as Magna Carta" (*Constitutional government in the United States*, p. 60). "Four years" (p. 79) should be "seven years"; congress is not "dissolved" at the end of the long session (p. 274); and the first sentence treating of "expulsion" (p. 277) might well be rewritten in the interests of accuracy. Other errors there are, too, but some of them are probably due to careless proof-reading.

Mr. Young's textbook, *The new American government and its work*, which covers both the national and state governments, is simply a reprint of the work first published in 1915. Of the many good words which could have been and were said of it in 1915, some would bear repetition. At the same time, the reasons for adverse criticism have increased. Old faults have not been corrected and time has added new ones. To permit the 1919 reprint to be issued under the title *The new American government and its work* is, to say the least, to allow an anachronism. Just because the book was so up to date in the years im-

mediately preceding the war, it is sadly out of date now. The author chose to neglect somewhat the permanent and abiding features of our system in order to stress the work the government was doing at that particular moment. His task was well done. For the time the book provided excellent collateral readings for other texts in American government; to-day it is less useful even in that field. The author discusses the statutes which seemed so all-important in the few years immediately before 1915, but congress has already passed several volumes of equally important ones. He analyzes for the student many of the then recent decisions on the commerce power, the taxing power, and the so-called federal police power; but the supreme court has held five "terms" since then and has handed down over fifteen volumes of still more recent decisions. He dwells upon such problems as the income tax of 1913, the Webb act, "the plan of 1913" for reorganizing the army, and so on. How speedily "the quicksand years" have swallowed up these weighty matters! He accepts "executive leadership" as "the outstanding feature of our institutions." The recent restoration of the republicans to control in congress, and the victory of the senate over the president have already dealt that "feature" a smashing blow which the republican party leaders threaten to follow up with yet another. Unfortunately, the kindness of the author in sending around mimeographed supplements to the teachers who use his text can never really bring the book up to date; the supplements do not reach the student. Nothing will do but a complete revision, and no sooner will one have been completed than another must be begun; for in books of this type the rate of obsolescence is exceedingly high.

William Anderson

The Cleveland era. A chronicle of the new order in politics. By Henry Jones Ford. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 232 p. $3.50)

The armies of labor. A chronicle of the organized wage-earners. By Samuel P. Orth. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 279 p. $3.50)

In these two volumes of the *Chronicles* two facets of the many-sided American society, with occasional gleams from other sides, are presented for inspection. While *The Cleveland era* confines itself to the short period between the opening of the Garfield-Arthur administration and the close of Cleveland's second term, and *The armies of labor* tramp

down from colonial times even unto yesterday, nevertheless to a degree one complements the other. Only in part, however; for one would have to appeal to several other volumes of this series to fill the gaps which are intentionally left for others to treat.

A chronicle of the new order in politics, the secondary title of Professor Ford's work, gives a hint of the aspect of society uppermost in his book. Indeed, "A chronicle of the inadequacy of congressional government" might have been chosen as an explanatory title, for the work is an indictment of the bungling of congress and the creaking of our governmental machinery for a period of some sixteen years. One feels at times, despite the avowed purpose of the book to emphasize this political phase, that too little of the background has been sketched in; for instance, with the summary way in which the third party movement during the late eighties and nineties is dealt, there is left a palpable chasm which has to be filled from other sources. Again, with so much emphasis on political machinery, one is inclined to wonder why certain aspects of the jobbery of the times are omitted; why the interesting logrolling connected with tariff and silver legislation in 1890 does not appear; why no reference is made to the political significance of the admission of new western states at that time.

Next to the analysis of governmental workings, wherein Professor Ford betrays his predilections as a political scientist, the most noticeable feature of *The Cleveland era* is found in the delineation of Grover Cleveland, the man and the statesman. Until there appears the eagerly awaited official biography of President Cleveland, the characterization here given is likely to be considered one of the most satisfactory yet attempted.

Although *The armies of labor* deals with our whole national period, with a preliminary summary of the colonial industrial background, the very nature of the subject causes Professor Orth to devote the bulk of his work to the period following the civil war; and since in the eighties and nineties so many vital steps in the progress of the labor movement were taken, this volume in a peculiar manner supplements *The Cleveland era*. Chapters on the American federation of labor, the trades union, its methods, organization, and aims, the railway brotherhoods, the weapons used by labor, labor's radicalism in the I. W. W., and labor's essays in politics, bring the reader through the maze of conflicting theories and clashing methods with a feeling that Professor Orth has attempted pretty successfully to lay before us the unvarnished story of organized labor and its struggles. In fact the book is an elaboration of the dictum found in the closing paragraph: "Labor, like other elements of society, has often been selfish, narrow, vindictive; but it has also shown itself earn-

est and constructive." Something of the personal bias of the author, apparent to the reader particularly in the chapters on the federation, trades unions, and the brotherhoods, for which he has an especially tender feeling, is summed up in the closing sentence: "The conservative trades union, at the hour of this writing, stands as a bulwark between that amorphous, inefficient, irresponsible Socialism which has made Russia a lurid warning and Prussia a word of scorn, and that national social ideal which is founded upon the conviction that society is ultimately an organic spiritual unity, the blending of a thousand diverse interests whose justly combined labors and harmonized talents create civilization and develop culture."

L. B. Shippee

The railroad builders. A chronicle of the welding of the states. By John Moody. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 257 p. $3.50)

Of the twelve chapters in this book, only one, the first, deals with the American railroad system as a whole, and this one contains a general summary that might have been prepared to appear independently under its caption, "A century of railroad building." The remaining chapters are devoted to the history of single systems, like the Pennsylvania, Erie, or Harriman lines, and to single problems like "Crossing the Appalachian range," and "Linking the oceans." Among them, however, most of the topics are treated that are entitled to space in a single thin volume upon the subject.

The author, a well-known railroad and financial journalist, is thoroughly in touch with the varied problems of the railroads of to-day, and knows from observation their ups and downs in recent years. He has supplemented his knowledge by careful use of the standard secondary works dealing with the earlier history of the roads, but seems not to have covered this field in independent research. The result is a piece of high-class journalistic history that avoids obvious pitfalls without gaining any special elevation of interpretation.

In the absence of the careful studies based upon original research in transportation that ought to be available and are not, Mr. Moody's volume is entitled to rank among the best of our summaries. His bibliography is sensible and his maps are good.

F. L. P.

The new south. A chronicle of social and industrial evolution. By Holland Thompson. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 250 p. $3.50)

There are nine chapters in this attractive little volume, with titles as follows: "The background," "The confederate soldier takes charge," "The revolt of the common man," "The farmer and the land," "Industrial development," "Labor conditions," "The problem of black and white," "Educational progress," and "The south today." There are also a few pages on the repudiation of reconstruction debts by the southern states, and a short critical bibliography. To quote the author: "Some of the best historical matter on the changing South is in the form of fiction"; and works of fiction are given a prominent place in the bibliography.

This is a timely work, for, while we have several books dealing with particular phases of southern life and development since 1865, and chapters on the new south in recent general histories, it is the only one that attempts to give an up-to-date account of political, economic, and social life south of Mason and Dixon's line. Obviously, in the allotted space, the author has been unable to give us a detailed history; he has sketched the transition from the old régime to the new, described the new, and given an interpretation of the most important changes. More than this could not reasonably be expected of him.

The chapters on "The background," "The revolt of the common man," and "Industrial development" may, perhaps, be found to contain more that is new than any of the others. The second mentioned, which describes the wresting of political control from the confederate soldier, is probably the best in the book. All are good, however. Recent industrial development is treated as a revival, not as a revolution in southern industry. It is doubtful if one can find anywhere a more sane and intelligent discussion of the racial question than that contained in the chapter on "The problem of black and white." In the chapter on "Educational progress" the author seeks to refute — and his arguments are convincing — the widely accepted view that the reconstruction governments gave the south a public school system unknown up to that time. Anyone who has lived in the south during recent years, or spent considerable time there, can concur with the author's concluding statements that the most striking characteristic of the new south is hopefulness, and that "the dull apathy of a generation ago is rapidly disappearing, and, the South lifts up its eyes toward the future."

Mr. Thompson is qualified to make intelligent comparisons, for not

only does he know his native south, but he has lived in other sections of the country. His little book is well and clearly written, it is remarkably free from errors of all kinds, and it has one merit possessed by altogether too few of our recent works on history: namely, it can be read and understood by the layman as well as by the student.

M. J. White

The great awakening in the middle colonies. By Charles Hartshorn Maxson. (Chicago: The University of Chicago press, 1920. 158 p. $1.25 net)

This little book is a worthy treatment of a most interesting and important movement in the middle colonies in the eighteenth century. With the great revival in the New England colonies we are more or less familiar, but of the extension of that great religious awakening to the middle colonies we know much less. The author of this volume first summarizes the various factors in the great awakening. In the background of the movement in Pennsylvania were the Pietists, German immigrants who had brought with them the teachings of Spener; in New Jersey was Frelinghuysen, the one man mostly responsible for the revival among the Dutch Reformed; while the Tennents, father and sons, were the names most prominent in the revival among Presbyterians. After tracing these early influences the author then describes the coming of George Whitfield to the colonies, explains how he became connected with various elements already at work, and traces the Whitfield revival to its culmination in 1740. Then follow chapters describing the effect of the revival upon the various churches, especially upon the Presbyterian.

Any movement resulting in the founding of such institutions as the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton and Brown universities, besides Dartmouth and Rutgers, is certainly deserving of much more consideration by historians than has up to this time been accorded.

It is unfortunate that the book is not mechanically more attractive.

The foundations of Mormonism. A study of the fundamental facts in the history and doctrines of the Mormons from original sources. By William Earl la Rue, B.D. (Chicago: Revell company, 1919. 243 p. $1.25 net)

This is a controversial work. As a rule books of this character are of slight historical importance, as they are generally based on assumptions and are dogmatic in their assertions and conclusions. But this book is so constructed as to challenge the attention of all those interested in the subject. The author is confessedly anti-Mormon and his purpose is to combat Mormon propaganda. But he aims to be fair and he attempts to reach no conclusion except as it is based upon authentic sources of

information. He charges the Mormon historians with withholding certain essential facts in the history of Mormonism, and then proceeds to point out where he thinks that has been done. Frequently these facts which he says have been withheld lie embedded in historical sources of Mormon origin. Because of his method of procedure he has put the historians of Mormonism on the defensive in several matters of vital importance. The book cannot, therefore, be ignored.

The first part of the book is given to a study of the authenticity of the sacred books of Mormonism, including the book of Mormon, the book of commandments, the book of doctrines and covenants, and the book of Abraham, and also Smith's "translation" of the Scriptures. In the latter part of the book there is an excellent chapter on Mormon organization. There are also two chapters that deal briefly with the Mormon troubles in Missouri and Illinois, but they contain nothing new. As yet no one has worked out a complete and trustworthy account of the hostilities between the Mormons and the Missourians in the thirties. Perhaps when that has been done it will appear that both sides were not without blame. The final chapter, which deals with polygamy, is of interest because of the manner in which the author handles the mooted question as to whether Joseph Smith ever taught polygamy or not. The conclusion is that he did, the reorganized church to the contrary notwithstanding.

The book is faulty in places in paragraphing and in the organization of material. But on the whole it reads readily and the author makes his points clearly. There is no index but the full table of contents somewhat makes up for that.

E. M. Violette

International waterways. I. The evolution of the principle of international waterways. II. A reference-manual to the treaties, conventions, laws, and other fundamental acts governing the international use of inland waterways. By Paul Morton Ogilvie, M.A. (New York: Macmillan company, 1920. 424 p. $3.00)

This book may be classed as a handbook in the field that it covers. Its aim appears to be to provide a reference manual of facts concerning the juristic situation of the international inland waterways of the world. The first half of the book contains a brief summary, first, of the development of the principle of freedom of navigation by sea; and second, of the principle of international regulation of inland waterways. A treatment of this question from the earliest days to the peace conference at the close of the late war comprised in 171 pages can, of necessity, only touch the high places in the narrative. Mr. Ogilvie, however, seems to have brought out the essential facts in an account which, if not light

summer reading, is yet clear and valuable, at least to those who have not made a special study of the subject.

The greatest value of the book appears to be in the second portion, which is a reference list of the various treaties and agreements of modern times relating to the international inland waterways of the world. An appendix gives a reference index to the regulations laid down by the peace conference regarding the German inland rivers. The references to collections where these treaties and agreements may be found are very complete and should enable the student who has access to a good library to study in detail the development of international regulation in this field. The list is restricted to purely inland waterways, and inter-thalassic waterways, such as the Bosporus, the Suez canal, and the Panama canal, are excluded except as they are treated in the introduction. A similar treatment of the latter would form a valuable complement to Mr. Ogilvie's book.

The book is primarily a juristic study and this is most apparent in the list of books given for further study in the field of international control of commerce. One misses works like Gorianov, *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles*, and the books of Woolf might have been added. But in a field as large as this some choice is necessary and each individual reader will add or subtract as his inclinations tend. The book is completed by a full and careful index.

The question of international control of commerce, especially as exemplified in the internationalized waterways and the internationalized railroads, is very much to the fore in these days. To the inland states — and we have added considerably to their number in the last two years — such questions may become matters of life and death. The international lawyer, the historian, and the general student of modern problems will each be grateful to Mr. Ogilvie for his helpful work.

Mason W. Tyler

Sir Wilfrid Laurier. By Peter McArthur. (Toronto and London: J. M. Dent and sons, limited, 1919. 183 p. $1.00)

The author of this little book, a well-known Canadian journalist, disarms the critic by his genial confession in his dedication to "fellow-writers of the Canadian Press": "The merits of the book are due to their efforts, for I have helped myself lavishly to their best brains. I have long been of the opinion that a genius is a man who knows a good thing when he steals it, and this is the first time I have had a chance to steal on an ambitious scale. I have stolen much, and if I had had more time I would have stolen more." The book is not, as a matter of fact, in any proper sense a biography of Laurier. It is merely a compilation, very

hastily put together, of facts, opinions, and anecdotes relating to the life of the great Canadian statesman, with quotations from his public speeches, bound together by Mr. McArthur's comments. The latter are often so shrewd and penetrating that one could wish the author had taken time to mold his material into better form. He was probably aware, however, that serious biographies of Laurier were already planned or in the course of preparation, in French and English respectively, by Senator David and Professor Skelton, both thoroughly competent to handle the subject in a scholarly way and with a reasonable combination of sympathetic insight and critical detachment, and no doubt he designed his own book merely as something to satisfy the immediate public demand for a popular tribute to the dead leader. As such it is probably all that one could fairly expect.

What one finds most worth while in the book are the little side lights it affords on Laurier's character as both man and statesman, his political creed, his literary tastes, his personal peculiarities. Like his great political opponent, Sir John Macdonald, for whom he had a quite genuine admiration, Sir Wilfrid possessed to a remarkable degree the gift of personal magnetism and an almost uncanny memory for faces. The first brought him the devoted attachment of his English-speaking followers and the hero-worship of his French-Canadian fellow countrymen; and the latter not only increased his popularity but also helped him around many a tight corner. While he lacked the full measure of Macdonald's dominating personality, he possessed a greater gift of eloquence. He was preëminently an orator of the old school, with a fine presence, an attractive delivery, and a truly marvelous command of both languages. His wide reading and excellent memory left him never at a loss for an apt phrase or a telling retort. Although at all times a shrewd political leader with a perfectly natural desire to keep his own party in power, he remained always loyal to the high ideals with which he had started his political career, the welfare and advancement of his country, and particularly the harmonious coöperation of the two races. His views as to Canada's relations to the empire on the one hand and the United States on the other were never in doubt. He consistently advocated the closest and most friendly relations with the United States short of political union; and his ideas as to the relations of Canada to the empire were admirably summarized in the phrase: "The Canadian people are free and loyal; loyal because they are free."

L. B.

Prisoners of the great war. Authoritative statement of conditions in the prison camps of Germany. By Carl P. Dennett, American Red Cross deputy commissioner to Switzerland. (New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1919. 236 p. $1.50)

This book was written by a member of the American Red Cross mission in Switzerland charged with the care of the interests of American prisoners of war. It shows signs of having been written in haste, is unindexed, and is a compilation rather than a digested book. It is, nevertheless, interesting. The lover of adventure will find passing interest in the long narratives of escapes, and in the account of the German "dictaphone hotels" designed to elicit military information from the unguarded conversation of prisoners. Others will be interested in the mission's remarkable achievement of its purpose. The Red Cross not only traced down and communicated with all American prisoners, but it also supplied them with a weekly ration, with clothing, toilet articles, money, and the means of recreation; it even maintained in the various German prison camps supplies of food and clothing for distribution by committees of prisoners to newly arrived prisoners. Through returned prisoners and neutral diplomatic agents it kept vigilant watch for abuses, and was quick to demand their reform.

The book was written but a few weeks after the armistice, and bears the marks of strong feeling. Mr. Dennett believes that the large number of German civilians interned in the United States and of German prisoners of war in the hands of the American expeditionary forces insured to the comparatively few Americans in captivity the good treatment they enjoyed. The German war ministry regarded the clothing and shoes of prisoners as war booty; and German soldiers or civilians sometimes robbed prisoners of shoes, clothing, and valuables, or plundered packages sent to them. Yet Americans did not suffer so much as did prisoners of other nations from the abuse of working commands, not subject to neutral inspection, in which prisoners were often maltreated by guards or civilians. Of the treatment of the prisoners of other nations, Mr. Dennett draws a black picture. Prisoners were employed on military works under fire. Russian, Roumanian, and Italian prisoners especially, since their governments paid less attention to them, were abused, and starved on the insufficient German prisoner ration. These conclusions Mr. Dennett bases on evidence given by allied prisoners en route through Switzerland for repatriation. In a final estimate of German treatment of prisoners of war his book must be considered important, but naturally it cannot be considered conclusive.

The path of empire. A chronicle of the United States as a world power. By Carl Russell Fish. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 305 p. $3.50)

This is neither a diplomatic history of the United States nor a topical study of American foreign relations, but somewhat of each. Professor Fish has grouped the important episodes of American diplomatic history from the Monroe doctrine to the world war in a roughly chronological order and has presented them in a form for popular consumption. The material can all be found in his *American diplomacy*, published in 1915, though in a few cases new light is thrown on situations. For instance, the Krüger telegram is emphasized as a factor leading to the amicable settlement of the Venezuela controversy of 1896, and the subsequent *rapprochement* of Great Britain and the United States (p. 85).

The Spanish war is taken as the critical period in the development of American empire and about one-third of the volume is devoted to it. The military as well as the diplomatic events of the war are related, some incidents, such as the battle of San Juan hill, being presented with dramatic vigor.

The book is undoubtedly designed for the lay reader. With its attractive make-up, handsome photogravure illustrations, easy and often distinguished style, pointed characterizations, patriotic tone, and occasional suggestions for the application of history to present controversies (pp. 17, 233, 287) it should satisfy him. The serious student will find little that is novel either in material or interpretation.

Quincy Wright

An introduction to the peace treaties. By Arthur Pearson Scott. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1920. 292 p. $2.00 net)

In 285 pages we are given an analysis of the peace treaties preceded by an exposition of the causes of the war, the original aims of the belligerents, the secret treaties, the proposals for peace during the war, and the discussions at the peace conference. Besides the treaty of Versailles, the Austrian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and French guarantee treaties are considered, as are the elements of the treaty with Turkey, which was not completed when the book went to press. The book ends with an informing résumé of the reactions of public opinion to the treaties. The author disclaims any "inside knowledge" (p. v) or a desire to persuade anyone to adopt his point of view (p. vii). He seeks to follow a *via media* and has been fairly successful, although he admits that "personally" he should "prefer a prompt ratification of the treaty

with any such explanatory reservations as those advocated by Mr. Taft for instance'' (p. vi).

In the analysis of the treaties, comprising two-thirds of the book, criticism is rare. The Shantung provisions are perhaps most severely dealt with (p. 145). A résumé of the history of the controversies involved and a statement of the solution adopted in each successive article of the treaty is the method pursued. Though the author thus escapes the criticism of partisanship to which Keyne, Dillon, Baker, and other commentators on the peace have been subjected, his book lacks the interest and color of theirs.

A book of the character proposed by Professor Scott would be invaluable, if accurate and complete; but without these qualities its place is a little hard to foresee. The author tells us that the volume ''does not purport to be an exhaustive or scholarly study'' (p. v). The confession seems justified.

A good many of the author's comments upon treaty clauses might be questioned; compare, for instance, the object of article 10 of the covenant as stated on page 97 with President Wilson's statement on page 538 of the senate hearings (66 congress, 1 session, *Senate documents*, 106), and the summary of article 13 on the same page with the text of that article. Usually, however, these lapses seem to have been born of undue compression. We do not find a continual warping of interpretation to support a point of view as in Keyne, *Economic consequences of the peace* and Edmunds, *International law and the treaty of peace* (66 congress, 1 session, *Senate documents*, 156). On the whole, the summary of war aims, secret treaties, peace proposals, and negotiations in the first part of the book, though rather well-trodden ground, seems to the reviewer the best part of the book.

Quincy Wright

Readings in the economic history of the United States. By Ernest Ludlow Bogart, Ph.D., and Charles Manfred Thompson, Ph.D., of the department of economics in the University of Illinois. (New York: Longmans, Green, and company, 1916. xxvii, 862 p.)

This collection of readings represents an attempt to bring together within the compass of one volume original materials illustrating the various phases of the economic development of the United States. The great amount of material available for such an undertaking has imposed upon the editors the difficult task of selection, involving much care and diligence. They ''have endeavored to present a comprehensive yet balanced picture of the economic activities and development of each period.'' The subjects emphasized are the movement of population, agriculture, manufactures, transportation, commerce, labor, money and banking, and

the tariff. The material has been drawn almost without exception "from contemporary sources." While many official documents have been used, especially for the later period, "these documents have been supplemented by the more human and the more illuminating comments of travelers, observers, and others who were entitled to speak authoritatively." The volume has been prepared to meet the "need of providing large college classes with collateral reading in a course on the economic history of the United States." The editors have therefore attempted to select materials "to supplement the more systematic text book and lectures."

The readings have been divided into twenty-three chapters of which the first five (184 pages) are devoted to the colonial period and the revolution, the next twelve (413 pages) to the period from the revolution to the civil war, and the last six (256 pages) to the period since 1860. The selections are for the most part brief, thus permitting the inclusion of materials from a wide range of sources. Each selection is prefaced by a brief introductory paragraph summarizing its contents and explaining its relation to the chapter of which it forms a part.

The first seventeen chapters presenting a survey of American economic development down to 1860 have been well done. The editors have made a careful and painstaking effort to select and arrange materials from many sources for a faithful portrayal of the economic development of the country, and they have succeeded well in the task. This portion of the volume suggests the late Mr. G. S. Callender's *Selections from the economic history of the United States, 1765-1860* (Boston, 1909), with which it may be favorably compared. The principal point of contrast between the two volumes consists in the fact that while Messrs. Bogart and Thompson have essayed merely the task of unfolding a "panoramic picture" of our economic development by drawing upon a variety of source materials supplemented by brief explanatory paragraphs, Mr. Callender has supplied at the beginning of each chapter a carefully prepared introductory essay in which he has sought to interpret the materials of economic history by the application of the principles of economic science. It is the judgment of the reviewer, based upon past experience in the use of both volumes as supplementary texts in economic history, that Bogart's and Thompson's *Readings* for the period covered by Callender's volume constitute on the whole the better and more useful collection of materials and that this collection may be supplemented to good advantage by Callender's brief introductory essays. The editors of the *Readings*, in the preparation of the first seventeen chapters, have earned for themselves a well-deserved recognition for the judgment and skill which they have exercised in bringing these selections into a form which renders them of much service in the study of American economic history.

A few minor criticisms may, however, be noted. The chapters on the period 1783-1860 seem to be arranged without any definite notion of sequence; but this is not a serious criticism, for the various chapters may be selected in any order preferred. Again, chapter seven on agriculture, slavery, and internal trade, should have been devoted to agriculture and slavery alone, and another chapter dealing with internal trade should have been added. Moreover, the year 1815 would have been a better point of subdivision for the chapters following the revolution.

The last six chapters, on the period from 1860 to 1915, are not up to the standard set in the preceding chapters. They appear to have been rather too hastily done. The space allotted to the period is all too inadequate and out of proportion to the rest of the volume, considering the importance of this period in our economic development. Nor have the editors been so successful in the selection and arrangement of the materials presented. This part of the volume does not, in short, measure up to expectations. It is hoped, therefore, that the editors will undertake a complete revision and enlargement of this portion of the text in the near future. It will add much to a volume which for the earlier periods has already proved so useful for supplementary reading in American economic history.

Louis Bernard Schmidt

Immigration and Americanization. Selected readings. Compiled and edited by Philip Davis. Assisted by Bertha Schwartz. (New York: Ginn and company, 1920. 770 p. $4.00)

In the opinion of the compilers of this volume, "the combined effects of the European war and the new immigration law of 1917 will be so great as to render much of our antebellum literature on immigration out of tune with the new order. Hence the need of a representative volume summarizing the best thought in past and current literature on immigration and Americanization." The book, according to the preface, is designed to meet the needs of high schools, colleges, universities, and chautauquas and aims to cover the field "from every possible point of view."

The first part of the book is devoted to immigration, and the second, including the appendix, deals with Americanization. The selections, which are grouped under subject headings and arranged, so far as possible, chronologically, consist largely of reports of the United States immigration commission and bureaus of immigration and education, and writings of immigration workers, specialists, and scholars, all of which are found elsewhere in print and many in books and periodicals readily accessible in college libraries. The compilers have exercised diligence and judgment, but with few exceptions the selections lack the "human

touch." The thousands of "America letters" which found their way to the remote villages of Europe have spread the glad tidings of the good fortune of relatives and friends in America and have inspired millions to follow the example of those who wrote them. The five Polish peasant letters printed in the appendix are types of numerous letters preserved in the homes of prosperous naturalized citizens and their descendants, and it is to be regretted that the volume does not include several such letters representative of typical racial stocks.

The causes of immigration as told by the one selection from the report of the United States immigrant commission apply more especially to the newer immigrants, and there is little or nothing to acquaint the reader with the political, social, and religious forces which operated (to a minor degree, it is true) in the case of the Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, and Dutch. It is, of course, a well-known fact that the great bulk of immigrants came here to get a "better living"; but there were conditions other than economic in their environment, which, taken in the aggregate, swelled the tide of unrest.

It would appear that an undue proportion of space is allotted to the new immigration, even admitting that from the standpoint of the present time and the Americanization worker greater emphasis is justifiable. It is hardly logical, however, to allow the extracts from Stanley C. Johnson's *History of emigration from the United Kingdom to America, 1763-1912* and Gustavus Ohlinger's *Their true faith and allegiance* to present the characteristics of the immigrants from northwestern Europe.

Another subject that might well have been included is that of conditions on board emigrant ships and the discouraging efforts of humanitarians to interest our legislators and those of European countries in measures to alleviate the misery and degradation of their fellow men herded like cattle into the damp and foul steerage and fed on food which immeasurably augmented their suffering.

The material on Americanization contains a vast fund of information about the work of governments, organizations, societies, schools, and individuals to lighten the burdens of foreigners and to make straight the path to useful citizenship. The editors have successfully tried to acquaint prospective Americanization workers with the spirit of "true Americanism" and to instill a friendly attitude toward the foreign born. About forty pages are given to a digest of the program and addresses made before the national Americanization conference held at Washington in May, 1919.

A well-selected bibliography, including bibliographies, briefs, magazine articles, books, and pamphlets, adds much to the value of the volume. There are, however, important omissions: Mary K. Reely's *Se-*

lected articles on immigration and Kendric C. Babcock's *Scandinavian element in the United States*, to cite two conspicuous examples.

George M. Stephenson

Beaumarchais. And the war of American independence. In two volumes. By Elizabeth S. Kite. With a foreword by James M. Beck. (Boston: The Gorham press, 1918. 308 p. $6.00)

More than half a century ago Louis de Loménie wrote a solid, competent book on *Beaumarchais et son temps*, which was shortly after translated into English. No doubt there is room for a new life of Beaumarchais; but it would require, to make it worth while, a good bit of critical investigation, extensive and much meditated knowledge of the age in which he lived, and more than ordinary insight into human nature. Miss Kite has not given us the book which these specifications call for. She is, one gathers from the preface, a bright, enthusiastic person, given to indignations and admirations, of which, in a special instance, the present book strikes one as being a rather breathlessly prepared consequence. In 1905, listening to the lectures of Dr. Emil Reich, she was made "indignant" by that provocative man's reiterated "accusations" against Americans for ignoring the services of Beaumarchais in the American revolution. Being already "familiar with almost everything written on the subject," it seemed to Miss Kite impossible that those services could have been conspicuous; but when, following Dr. Reich's advice, she went to the British museum, she was "amazed" to find a great number of volumes dealing with the subject, and notably the monumental work of Doniol, a casual examination of which convinced her that Dr. Reich knew very well what he was talking about. The result was that, during 1905-1906, under Dr. Reich's direction, the present work was "compiled — for it claims to be very little else than a bringing together of the documentary material." It is, in fact, scarcely that perhaps, but rather a collection of extracts — although indeed of extracts which themselves contain a great many documents — taken chiefly from the books of Loménie, Gudin, Lintelhac, and Doniol; all these extracts being connected by a sufficient amount of sprightly and cheerful comment to give a kind of continuity to the whole affair. This bringing together seems not to have been much hampered or delayed by the intrusion of critical doubts, being rather a "labor of love," a generous if belated recognition of one whom it seemed to Miss Kite "impossible to know . . . intimately and to appreciate . . . only moderately." The work was thus rapidly completed, apparently in 1906, but was laid aside until the "American Public would be ready to meet 'their friend.'" It seems that this came to pass in 1917, when, with the arrival of the French commission in the United States, "public interest

began rapidly to center in France.'' And thus the book is now published, with a foreword by Mr. James M. Beck, who makes Beaumarchais out to have been a very wonderful person indeed — a kind of Sheridan (Richard B., not Phil), Junius, Harriman, Sherlock Holmes, and Talleyrand all in one — and who finds the chief distinction of the book itself to reside in the fact that it is ''a valuable contribution to the cause of patriotism.''

C. B.

Adventurers of Oregon. A chronicle of the fur trade. By Constance L. Skinner. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1920. 290 p. $3.50)

The fur trade is made the central theme of this twenty-second volume of the *Chronicles of America*, and quite properly so. After an introductory chapter devoted to the period of discovery and exploration, ending with Captain Gray's exploit, come six chapters of lively narrative dealing each with an outstanding phase of the development of the Pacific northwest. Lewis and Clark; the rise and rivalry of the Canadian fur companies, their reaching toward the Pacific, their contacts with John Jacob Astor in the interior; Astor's Oregon venture in two of the chapters, one devoted to the *Tonquin* and its discordant factors; ''Astoria under the nor'westers''; and the régime of Dr. McLoughlin, leave little to be desired in the way of a story of sustained interest. The eighth chapter portrays the clash of old and new forces, trader and trapper with missionary and settler, bringing the story down to the treaty of 1846, with a few paragraphs summarizing the events immediately subsequent to the diplomatic settlement of the episode.

Occasionally it would seem that the effort to maintain a swiftly moving narrative has betrayed the author into sacrificing clarity. One is doubtful, for instance, as to just what is meant to be conveyed by the descriptions of or allusions to the story of Juan de Fuca (p. 2), the bull of demarcation (pp. 3-4), the Nootka convention (p. 17), and Oregon and the treaty of Ghent (p. 211).

It is unquestionably a matter of personal judgment as to how the description of any historical episode is to be balanced, what weight is to be given to this and that part. Nevertheless, it seems clear that an erroneous impression is produced by devoting the two longest chapters of the eight to Lewis and Clark and Astor's overlanders, respectively, and leaving to more or less incidental reference in the last chapter, one of the shortest, practically all there is to be found about the decade preceding the treaty of 1846. To say that Wyeth's venture ''kindled interest in

the territory beyond the mountains, an interest dormant since the days of Lewis and Clark'' is to ignore the fact that from the time John Floyd of Virginia began his agitation in congress for extending the laws of the United States over Oregon to the ratification of the treaty of division few subjects were so persistently aired in the national legislature or drew so much of the attention of administrations. To tell the story of Oregon and not even to mention the names of Floyd, Jedidiah Smith, Hall J. Kelley, Senator Lewis F. Linn, or Thomas H. Benton, cannot fail to put many aspects of the whole affair in a distorted perspective. Again, there is little in the book to indicate what Oregon had come to signify to the people of the west, of the whole west from Missouri north, prior to the nomination of Polk and the ''bargain of '44.''

It is a satisfaction to read no version of the ''Whitman legend'' in the text, although one is surprised to find in the selected bibliography Barrow's untrustworthy *Oregon* and no mention of William I. Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon.* An account more evenly balanced and more in accord with the true situation might have been produced by giving more attention to some of the topics suggested, even at the expense of cutting down a portion of space allowed the story of the Salish Indians in St. Louis seeking missionaries for their people, or details of the overlanders' experiences with Manuel Lisa.

As a ''Chronicle of the fur trade'' this work fulfills the purpose of the editors of the series in presenting an interesting account of a romantic phase of American development; historical perspective appears to have suffered in ''Adventurers of Oregon,'' who certainly included many persons, especially in the late thirties and early forties, seeking the transmontane region for purposes other than bartering peltries with the Indians.

L. B. Shippee

The powers and aims of western democracy. By William Milligan Sloane, L.H.D., LL.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1919. 489 p. $3.50 net)

This is a general and comprehensive account of the origin and development of democratic government and ideals from earliest times to the present. Professor Sloane traces the growth of democracy in all lands, but gives greatest space to the United States. The first part of the book deals with the development of democracy in thought and action. After a discussion of the vague beginnings of personal liberty in the oriental nations, the development of the democratic ideal is traced through Greek and Roman times, the medieval period, the reformation, and the English, American, French, and later revolutions. There are chapters on the institutions, forms, difficulties, and achievements of democracy.

Part two is devoted to the evolution of the modern nation; here the author traces the increase in the power of governments and points out the wholesome consequences of such growth and the dangers of further growth in some directions. Although he favors the continuance of conditions fostering individualism, he recognizes that state action must be greatly increased in some departments of life, that there seems to be an increasing number of problems that can be handled satisfactorily only by the state. There are well-balanced discussions of the serious problems confronting the nations of the world and America in particular. Much attention is given to such problems as emigration, immigration, the high birth rate accompanied by degeneracy of ideals and decline in physical vigor, congestion of population, the need of reforming our naturalization laws, the dangers of improvident marriages, the problem of capital and labor, the menace of socialism, anarchism, and bolshevism.

The third and final part of the book is entitled "The struggle for peace," and is a historical presentation of the peace idea and its evolution from Hebrew times to the Paris conference. The outstanding peace plans of Emeric Crucé, Grotius, William Penn, Kant, and others are given with satisfactory fullness. It is pointed out that the world war was the first war in history waged for the purpose of maintaining international law and creating a new world organization that will prevent ruthless aggression and unprincipled violation of the law of nations. Adequate blame is placed on the central powers for bringing on the war, but there is also a clear treatment of the conditions here and there among the nations the world over, that are a menace to world peace. Although England, France, and America clearly showed their efficiency as democracies during the war, the final test of democracy will be its ability to establish and preserve peace. If democracy is to endure it must develop a machinery of world government supported and energized by a sentiment of international justice that pervades all nations. The old ideas of greed, imperialism, strategic advantage, and exploitation of the weaker races by the powerful must be replaced by new ideals if democracy is to reach its highest development.

This is a serious, stimulating book. In the early chapters the style is somewhat involved and heavy, though on the whole the reader's attention is firmly held. The usefulness of the book would have been increased if there had been given selected references to further works on the many phases of human development that are here so well presented.

Carl Conrad Eckhardt

Our foreigners. A chronicle of Americans in the making. By Samuel P. Orth. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1920. 255 p. $3.50)

With the accumulation of considerable material dealing with the problem of immigration, and the widespread interest in the subject, the appearance of a book which approaches the subject from the historical point of view is timely. It is only a question of time when every ambitious department of history will offer courses emphasizing the influence of immigration in American history, patterned after courses showing the influence of the west in American development.

Mr. Orth's book sets forth in interesting fashion the more obvious aspects of the subject drawn mainly from secondary works of a special and general nature. There is little in the book to stimulate criticism or to excite controversy. Each racial stock, including the negro, Chinese, and Japanese, is allotted space usually appropriate to its importance, but it is difficult to understand why thirty-six pages should be allotted to Fourierism, the Shakers, Eric Janson's theocratic socialistic community, and other "Utopias," and only twenty and twenty-two pages to "The Irish invasion" and "The Teutonic tide," respectively.

The author was confronted with the difficult task of compressing the facts of a long and complicated story within the number of pages assigned to his volume; but the reviewer must take note of the fact that he has included rather minor events and indexed names of little significance and has ignored others of first importance. We should like to know more about the European background, the efforts of states, corporations, and individuals to stimulate and direct immigration, the organization and influence of foreign language churches, the work of such religious pioneers as William Passavant, T. N. Hasselquist, and John Ireland, to mention but a few, rather than the ephemeral work of Eric Janson, Jonas Olson (not Olsen), and Peter Lehman. A better perspective would have brought out more sharply the cultural contributions of our foreigners, their political affiliations and influence, and the setting of our immigration legislation.

Mr. Orth writes well and with poise and discrimination, but he has added nothing to our knowledge. His book is for the general reader rather than the scholar.

George M. Stephenson

The mulatto in the United States. Including a study of the rôle of mixed-blood races throughout the world. By Edward Byron Reuter. (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1918. 417 p. $2.50)

This is styled a study in the field of ethnology but it betrays its lack of the scientific point of view in the very questions raised in the preface of the work. Believing that the future of this nation is conditioned by the treatment which the race problem receives, the author is concerned with the advisability of the amalgamation of the races as an ideal, wondering whether the infusion of ten per cent of negro blood would so materially lower the ideals of the intellectual and cultural capacity of the population of the country as to cause its comparative decline among the nations. Thinking that such might be the case, he discusses the problem of checking the fusion already in progress and establishing some sort of harmonious working relations between the races while they separately work out their racial destiny. Conceding that in regard to the fundamental question there is no consensus of scholarly opinion, in as much as the problem has not been attacked in a scholarly way, one would expect to find in this work a scientific treatise giving stimulus to that desirable end. On the contrary, however, the author's preoccupied mind and apparent prejudice render him inadequate to the task of treating the question scientifically.

In the very beginning of the work the author handicaps himself by the misuse of the word "mulatto." He has used it to include all negroes of mixed ancestry regardless of the degree of intermixture, whereas the proper use of the word in the United States, the language of which should determine the use of the terms of this work, is to designate persons who are known in the communities in which they live as products of a mixture of Caucasian and African blood. When even a casual reader finds in this book that Nat Turner, Samuel Ringold Ward, Martin R. Delaney, George W. Murray, T. McCants Stewart, Charles Young, and Nannie H. Burroughs are placed in the column of mulattoes, merely for the purpose of supporting the long-since uprooted theory of racial superiority by showing that the mulattoes are superior to the blacks, he must doubt the scientific value of a dissertation fraught with such errors. The author then goes astray very much as the ante-bellum writers did, as well as writers of to-day of the type of W. H. Thomas and H. W. Odum, in trying to prove the inferiority of the negroes.

His tendency toward misstatement is evident, moreover, in the fact that even white persons have been listed here as mulattoes, as in the case of Benjamin Lundy. Teeming with such errors, then, the work on the whole is decidedly dangerous but may be of some service to investigators

who, being already generally informed in the field of negro history, can make use of the actual facts which the author has collected.

Eliminating the unscientific comments from page to page, one would consider as chapters of value those entitled, "Mixed blood races," "The mulatto as the key to the race problem," "The amount and the nature of race intermixture in the United States," and "The growth of the mulatto class." Here we find some interesting facts about the races in primitive times and about the race admixture in the West Indies, South Africa, and America. There is also some information on the concubinage of negro women with white men, unlawful polygamy, and intermarriage with Indians. Mr. Reuter carefully neglects to say anything about the concubinage of white women with negro men, a condition which prevailed in many parts of the country prior to the reaction when slavery, becoming an economic institution, reduced the negroes to the plane of tools for exploitation. Chapters eight to fourteen are practically worthless and the author would have a better title to scholarship if they had not been written.

C. G. Woodson

A woman's story of pioneer Illinois. By Christiana Holmes Tillson. Edited by M. M. Quaife in the Lakeside classics. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and sons, 1919. 169 p.)

Perhaps the housekeepers of Montgomery county, Illinois, imagine their "servant problem" is an affliction of modern days; if so, a perusal of Mrs. Tillson's description of the domestic economy of that region in the eighteen-twenties ought to lessen perceptibly the burden of their wail. For when keeping house involved not only three meals a day — for a varying and large company — but meat-dressing, candle-making, and various manufacturing processes as well, the need of help was surely more acute; and yet that need was fully as hard, if not harder, to fill than even in these degenerate days. Mrs. Tillson considered herself lucky when she had a young girl capable of giving her any assistance at all; and eventually even her New England conscience could *almost* persuade itself that providence had taken a hand in guiding affairs when, just at a time of special distress, two runaway household "slaves" (indentured negroes) sought refuge under her roof and she was able to buy out their owner's rights to their services.

At that, Mrs. Tillson's menage was considered an especially luxurious one by the neighbors, most of whom were westerners of southern extraction. They "were much perplexed to know what Tillson's wife found to do. She didn't spin nor weave, and had that little Dutch girl, and the men helped her to milk . . . never seed her in the 'truck patch'; didn't believe she knew how to hoe"!

This contrast between yankee and southern ways features all through

Mrs. Tillson's story; no mere statistics as to the source of immigrants to pioneer Illinois could tell half so eloquently the effect of the mingling of the two streams from the south and from the east. The fear of the old Tennessee woman who was " 'skeery about them 'ere Yankees; there is such a power of them coming in that they and the Injuns will squatch out all the white folks"; the surprise of Jesse Buzan's wife that Mrs. Tillson would voluntarily apply the term "yankee" to herself: " 'I didn't think you would say the like of that! I allus knowed youens were all Yankees, but Billy said, don't let on that we know it, kase it'll jest make them mad' "— when such an attitude on the part of the southerners was met by New England prejudices against the easy-going, thriftless ways of these "white folks," real neighborliness was a difficult thing to cultivate. Mrs. Tillson, fortunately, had much native kindness of heart and, better still, a sense of humor, so that her tolerance seems to have gone far toward disarming critics. But one wonders even so if she could wholly repress her feelings when "Mother Kilpatrick," who came to help care for the Tillsons' first-born, asked what the young mother would like for her dinner; "she had heard the Yankee women dieted at such times; for herself, she always took pork and cabbage for her first meal."

In spite of its abundance of domestic details, be it said, Mrs. Tillson's story is not open to the charge of pettiness, for she was a well-educated, highly intelligent woman whose interests were extended beyond her own kitchen; she therefore throws her wealth of details into a perspective which makes them fascinating reading and of rich historical value. Little wonder that her children, when they grew to maturity, realized the value of a record of her experiences and induced her to set down the story of her early life in Illinois; it can scarcely be ignored even by the average historian who writes solely from a man's point of view; as an illumination of what pioneer life meant to the women who no less than the men bore their share in the winning of the west, it stands almost unique.

The Lakeside press is to be thanked heartily for making the book, long out of print, again available, especially in the attractive form distinctive of the Lakeside classics. To Mr. Milo M. Quaife, editor of the series, we are indebted for a scholarly historical introduction and adequate explanatory footnotes.

L. W. T.

Thirty-third annual report of the bureau of American ethnology. To the secretary of the Smithsonian institution, 1911-1912. (Washington: Government printing office, 1919. 677 p.)

This report maintains the high standard of excellence which characterizes the other volumes of the series. The usual report of the ethnologist

in charge, F. W. Hodge, is detailed, scholarly, and exact, enumerating briefly the achievements of the year, with personal comments on the various workers in the field and a summary of the results of each piece of investigation.

Of the accompanying papers two are of more than usual interest to the general reader. Dr. Melvin R. Gilmore, now curator of the State historical society of North Dakota, contributes a paper on the general subject of ethnobotany and presents a most valuable study on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri river region. In this new field of research Dr. Gilmore shows himself a student of rare insight and of indefatigable industry. A formidable mass of material has been arranged, classified, and made to reveal the story of aboriginal contact with the flora of the Missouri valley. In this brief sketch Dr. Gilmore has shown himself possessed of the skill of a field botanist as well as of the power to draw from a large number of Indians exact and interesting information as to their use of these plants listed in his sketch. Emphasis is laid upon the use of native plants in preference to those exotics that are commonly found in our gardens and parks. In his plea for a better acquaintance with our native plants, Dr. Gilmore says: "The people of the European race in coming into the New World have not really sought to make friends of the native population, or to make adequate use of the plants or the animals indigenous to this continent, but rather to exterminate everything found here and to supplant it with the plants and animals to which they were accustomed at home. It is quite natural that aliens should have a longing for the familiar things of home, but the surest road to contentment would be by way of gaining friendly acquaintance with the new environment." This quotation expresses precisely the whole purpose of this initial discussion on plant life in relation to the food, the arts, the medicine, and the religion of the Indians of the great plains.

Dr. Gilmore has in a very special manner brought before the reading public the artistic and spiritual message of our native flora. In discussing the influence of plant life upon culture he refers with special emphasis to the wonderfully rich and varied vegetation of the Nebraska prairies. He says: "All of these scents are clean and wholesome and redolent of the pure outdoors and freshness of breezes from nature's garden. . . . By a whiff of any of these odors one is mentally carried, by the power of association and suggestion, to the wide, quiet spaces, where the mind may recover from throng-sickness and distraction of the multitude, and regain power and poise."

It is not too much to say that Dr. Gilmore has opened a new avenue for research and has shown us how to multiply many fold our enjoyment of our own prairie environment.

The second paper in this series of general interest is one which consists principally of a carefully edited Hawaiian legendary romance. This piece of literary research is notable as being the first of its kind ever compiled. It is the work of a student of Columbia university, Martha W. Beckwith, who translated it "out of love for the land of Hawaii and for the Hawaiian people." The Hawaiian text appears opposite the translation on each page, thus making it easy to follow the original source material throughout the story.

The skillful arrangement and analysis of the various portions of the legend make it of exceptional value to the ethnologist and to all students of primitive society. Miss Beckwith is especially successful in indicating the influence of natural environment upon the evolution of the story and is able to relate it to the primitive customs of the earliest inhabitants of the island.

A family history in letters and documents, 1667-1837. Edited by Mrs. Charles P. Noyes. (St. Paul: privately printed, 1919. 692 p.)

This interesting collection of letters and documents is more than a family history. It is a cross-section view of the pioneer movement into Illinois. Glimpses of political conditions, financial affairs, and religious movements are reflected along with the story of the everyday individual life of the Gilman family.

The documents cover a period of 170 years; the first is the acceptance by the Reverend Robert Hale in 1667 of a call to the church of Beverly, Massachusetts; the last describes vividly the attack on the antislavery press of Alton, Illinois, in which Owen Lovejoy was killed. Between the two lies the story of the journey of the family westward, through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and into Illinois. Various circumstances combine to make the letters of more than private interest. The Gilman family was large and its branches were divided between east and west; their correspondence necessarily covered a wide field. A number of the letters are in the form of journals which treat of as many subjects as the modern newspaper, and the style is easy and clear. One group of correspondence with Joseph Gilman is especially interesting. He was on the New Hampshire board of war during the revolution, and letters of the period show in detail the difficulties faced by the colonial army and the distress due to the unstable currency. One letter is devoted to the constitutional convention of 1787. This same Joseph Gilman removed with his family to Ohio, and both the Ohio company and the Scioto company are discussed at some length. The papers covering the years 1818-1837 show the development of business interests in the west, the growth of new settlements, and the beginning of the slavery struggle.

In editing these letters the old spelling and old-fashioned characters

have been preserved. The gradual change of style is itself worthy of study. Editorial notes are frequent enough to prevent confusion concerning the rather complicated relationships and the very numerous characters mentioned, and the index is full and well organized.

The land of tomorrow. By William B. Stephenson, Jr. (New York: George H. Doran company, 1919. 240 p. $2.00)

The author of this work spent five years on the island of St. Michael, some sixty miles north of the mouth of the Yukon, first in private business and later as United States commissioner. Despite the bleak and lonely environment of this spot and the hardships of his numerous trips to other parts of the territory, he is a most enthusiastic promoter of Alaska as "the land of tomorrow." His account of the little-known island of St. Michael is a valuable addition to the knowledge of this northern region, and his stories include some that are really new.

The book is written in interesting style, although to one not familiar with Alaska it will seem to deal too frequently in superlatives. On the other hand, to anyone who has tramped over the tundra, forced his way through the forests, or climbed the mountains and enjoyed the marvelous views of lakes, rivers, and glaciers, or even to the timid tourist who in elegant safety has feasted on the ever-changing beauties of the "inside passage," this account will appeal as a new tribute to the wonders and the opportunities of our least-known territory.

Such a book cannot give a real picture of Alaska, for it is too brief to portray adequately so vast a territory, and perhaps the author would have more nearly done himself justice if he had covered somewhat less ground and had done it more thoroughly. But as a rapid sketch the record is calculated to give the reader a glimpse of wonderful country that may tempt him to do as he ought—to go to see for himself. It is a great pity that the work is marred by such buncombe as sometimes creeps into the text in the form of statements concerning foreign relations.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

This is the first number of the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW to be edited in the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. The managing editor mentions this subject again in order that correspondents may be reminded of the change of address.

Writings on American history, 1917, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 181 p.), is the twelfth of a series of annual bibliographies, the first of which appeared in 1906. It includes, besides material on United States and Canadian history, a bibliography for Latin America, Mexico, Central America, South America, and many of the islands. The arrangement is topical and, within the divisions, generally alphabetical. Reviews from the more critical journals are cited.

The *American year book* for 1919, published by Appleton and company, maintains the high standard of excellence of the previous volumes. The book gives the latest information concerning hundreds of subjects of interest to Americans. The articles are all written by experts in their special field. Every subject of significance, from the league of nations to the influenza epidemic and from the growth of radicalism to the Einstein theory, is given adequate discussion.

Famous leaders of industry: The life stories of boys who have succeeded, by Edwin Wildman (Boston: The Page company, 1920. 357 p. $2.00), is described in its preface as "an exhaustive study of men," but proves to be only some twenty-six flimsy journalistic stories devoted to the uncritical glorification of the subjects treated. It has no value for the historical student, except perhaps as it suggests that if such a group of biographies were put together with care, and even with such knowledge as is readily available, it would serve a useful purpose.

A second edition of the Library of congress catalogue of *American and English genealogies* (Washington: Government printing office, 1919. 1332 p. $1.75) has been compiled under the direction of the chief of the catalogue division. It contains some three thousand new entries, bringing the total number to almost seven thousand, and covering all works received prior to May, 1910. The arrangement is convenient — alphabetical under the names of families, and chronological under each

family. Many cross references and the addition of an author index make the book easily usable and increase its practical value.

There are several articles of interest to the western historian in the June number of the *American economic review*. Probably the reader, however, will first turn to Clive Day's article on Keyne's *Economic consequences of the peace*, in which he takes exceptions to many of Mr. Keyne's conclusions. An article by Simon Litman on "The past decade of the foreign commerce of the United States" has much in it to provoke thought.

The June, July, and August numbers of *National service and international military digests* have arrived.

The May number of the *Hispanic American historical review* contains the following articles: "The ecclesiastical policy of Francisco Morazan and the other Central American liberals," by Mary W. Williams; "Ecclesiastical law and the doctrine of the jurists in the formation of Indian law," by Ricardo Levene; "United States shipping in the La Plata region, 1809-1810," by Charles Lyon Chandler; and "The post-war attitude of Hispanic America toward the United States," by W. E. Dunn.

The *Catholic historical review* for July contains a very interesting article on the "Franciscan exploration of California," by Herbert I. Priestley; another article that will be of interest to middle westerners is entitled "Beginnings of the church in Little Rock," by the Reverend F. G. Holweck. Readers will also discover value in an article by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, "Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati." The department of documents is devoted to letters and documents bearing on the "Appointment of Father John Carroll as prefect-apostolic, 1783-1785."

The first one hundred pages of the January number of the *Michigan history magazine* are confined to an account of business concerning the society. Then follow a number of articles, of which may be mentioned: "The University of Michigan and the training of her students for the war," by Arthur L. Cross; "Fort Gratiot and its builder, General Charles Gratiot," by William L. Jenks; "The treaty of Saginaw, 1819," by Fred Dustin; and "Influence of the French inhabitants of Detroit upon its early political life," by L. G. Cooper.

The February number of the *Minnesota history bulletin* contains two articles, the first of which is a very interesting and illuminating address on "American democracy," by Carl R. Fish; the other article is entitled "The last Indian uprising in the United States," and is by Louis H. Roddis.

The July number of the *Journal of negro history* is taken up entirely by one article entitled "Slavery in Canada," by William R. Riddell.

The *Wisconsin magazine of history* for June continues Louise P. Kellogg's "The story of Wisconsin." Other articles are: "Another view of the Kensington rune stone," by R. B. Anderson; "Early life in southern Wisconsin," by David F. Sayre; and "The career of Edward F. Lewis," by Franklin F. Lewis. In the documentary department is printed "A journal of life in Wisconsin one hundred years ago: kept by Willard Keyes of Newfane, Vermont."

The April number of the *Iowa journal of history and politics* has the following articles: "Special municipal charters in Iowa, 1836-1858," by J. F. Robeson; "Northwestern Iowa in 1855," by J. L. Ingalsbe; and "General Lew Wallace at Shiloh: how he was convinced of an error after forty years," by J. W. Rich.

The compliments of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review are extended to the State historical society of Iowa for its new magazine, *The palimpsest*, which is to be edited by John C. Parish. As is the case with all the publications of the society, its appearance is beautiful. It is evidently an attempt to make a wide appeal to the public, presenting history in an interesting, story-like form.

The Historical committee of Indianapolis has issued a little pamphlet of sixty-three pages entitled "The centennial history of Indianapolis: an outline history." It is profusely illustrated.

The *South Carolina historical and genealogical magazine* for October, 1919, prints "The register of Christ church parish," and "Extracts from the journal of Mrs. Anne Manigault, 1754-1781."

The Tennessee historical magazine for January, 1920, has the following articles that will interest readers: "Tennessee Scotch-Irish ancestry," by Blanche Bentley; "Some early archaeological finds in Tennessee," by W. A. Provine; and "Why the first settlers of Tennessee were from Virginia," by A. V. Goodpasture. There is also continued the "Journal of Governor John Sevier," by John H. De Witt.

The southwestern historical quarterly manages to appear approximately on time, doing rather better than the average local historical publication. The leading article is entitled "The question of Texas jurisdiction in New Mexico under the United States, 1848-1850," by William C. Binkley; it is followed by chapter IV of Mr. Christian's article, "Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar."

The Virginia magazine of history and biography for July and October, 1919, concludes the "Roll of honor" which was begun in July, 1918. It prints the usual number of documents, such as the "Minutes of the council and general court, 1624-29," "Letters of William Byrd, first," "Virginia gleanings in England," and others.

The second number of *The Canadian historical review*, published at Toronto in June, has the following articles that will be of interest to western historians: "The growth of Canadian national feeling," by W. S. Wallace; "The struggle over the laws of Canada, 1763-1783," by William Smith; and "The first Canadian war-time prohibition measure," by W. R. Riddell.

In a small volume called *Policeman and public* (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 178 p.), Arthur Woods points out the fact that the policeman's job is scarcely so simple as the public takes for granted. He defends the thesis that a successful policeman must be something of a lawyer, something of a judge, and decidedly a diplomat, and suggests several means by which the relation between policeman and public might be developed to a state of better mutual understanding.

An unusually complete account of the "points of interest" in the United States is contained in a volume by Clifton Johnson, called *What to see in America* (New York: Macmillan company, 1919. 541 p. $3.00). Much historical material is incorporated in the descriptions of towns, rivers, mountain ranges, mines, and forests. The very fine illustrations are a main feature of the book.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. VII, No. 3 DECEMBER, 1920

THE PILGRIM AND THE MELTING POT[1]

Who going forth seeking adventure have found more than that little group of simple, perhaps stoggy, peasants living in 1600 around the tiny villages of Scrooby and Auserfeld, who, so far from seeking it, yearned only for quiet and noninterference? To be sure, the world went by on the great North road, but who is farther removed from the spirit of movement than the crowds one sees gathered about the railroad station to watch the express go by, and what surprise it would give to both audience and tourist to be told that nearly the whole of some such village crowd would be snatched up and would travel together farther than any of those upon whom they wonderingly and, for the most part, unenviously gazed. Nor was it adventure of the body alone to which circumstance and pious obstinacy committed them. Simple peasants though they were, the common desire for salvation brought them for a time into daily contact with the learning of Cambridge in the person of John Robinson, till something of the elements of ordered thought began to steady their minds, while the same common desire developed a neighborliness between them and William Brewster, who had experienced the refinements of court life.

Steadied and united by such influences, they fearsomely confronted exile and undesired change of all their physical habits, rather than change their spiritual practices. "Being now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled and garded with troopes of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the

[1] This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi valley historical association at Greencastle, Indiana, April 29, 1920.

differente manners and customes of the people, with their strange fashons and attires; all so farre differing from that of their plaine countrie villages (wherin they were bred, and had so longe lived) as it seemed they were come into a new world." They changed not only from one country to another, but from country to city life; but "they fell to such trads and imployments as they best could. . . . And at length they came to raise a competente and comforteable living, but with hard and continuall labor."

This new life could not but affect them all. To some it was an attraction. An earlier, similar church "falling into some errours in the Low Countries, ther (for the most part) buried them selves, and their names." Some even of this group "became souldiers, others tooke upon them farr viages by sea, and others some worse courses." The majority, however, were repelled rather than attracted. The labors in which they were employed "hastened" old age "before the time," and "consumed" "the vigor of nature" "in the very budd as it were." For the most part, they lived together "injoying much sweete and delightefull societie and spirituall comforte togeather in the wayes of God." Seasoned by self-conscious effort and by experience, they began to possess an attraction. "Many came unto them from diverse parts of England," among them Mr. Edward Winslow, a gentleman. Miles Standish, a sturdy professional soldier, joined himself to them.

Thus developed, they resolved upon the great adventure to America. Immediately they were plunged into the intricacies of business. The total cost of establishing them in America was about £7,000; not a large sum, even when we consider the greater value of money at the time. Yet it is not surprising that they did not have it all. It is more surprising that they succeeded in borrowing such as they did not have. It is still more remarkable that they paid what they borrowed; for not honesty alone, nor with industry added, could have served, but real success was needed. Except Massachusetts, which paid its own way, all the early colonies were financed by speculators who lost their money, or by great financial magnates, like the Calverts and William Penn, whose returns came in only to their descendants. No enterprise involved so little waste and was

so quickly remunerative as that of the pilgrim fathers. In ten years they had paid off their just joint debts.

In thirty years from their arrival in America, births had made good the losses of the adventure itself and of time, and had increased the population by over fifty per cent. Near thirty of the original stock were still living exponents of the course that had held them together. Their mode of life was different from that of their youth, but they were financially much better off, and they were not working so hard as they had worked in Holland. They had successfully planted a real social seed in America, it was flourishing and bearing fruit.

The courage, the poise, and the adaptability of this little group of English peasants are a splendid tribute to the possibilities of the English rural population of the seventeenth century. The fact that the adventure was not sought but thrust upon them ranks them as typical of that element, as were the sea rovers of Elizabeth's day of the less numerous population of the coast towns. It is interesting to note that the rural population outran the fisher folk and made their New England settlement four years before Roger Conant of Dorchester settled at Cape Ann. It is obvious, however, that when they settled Plymouth the pilgrims were no longer English peasants. Life in a foreign country had broadened their experience; city life had forced them to add trades to their agricultural equipment; twelve long years of daily intimacy with Brewster and Robinson had modified their manners; the necessity of business and self-government had still further stretched their minds. They had taken long steps toward becoming a new people; they may justly be called Americans.

The pilgrims planted a real seed of culture on the American continent. They brought over with them in sympathetic combination traditions of sturdy English country life, of learning, and of gentle living. This germ they had impregnated with varied experiences and had differentiated from anything growing on the soil from which they sprang. Planted in new and different soil, it flourished like a mustard seed, and became a tree in which the birds of the air came and lodged in their multitudes.

Tiny on the ocean was the *Mayflower*, mighty is the *Leviathan*

which transports men by the ten thousand, and the companions of the *Leviathan* are a mighty company compared with the sisters of the *Mayflower*. Constantly increasing has been the flow of immigration, and constantly widening has been the field from which it has been drawn. Not all have been seasoned for the transition as were the farmers of Scrooby, and one changes naturally from fruitful agricultural similies to that of the devouring melting pot. In this rush life and babel of races has the pilgrim been lost, except to memory, or has he served as a salt to savor the broth? While celebrating the tercentenary of the pilgrim voyage, it is worth while to estimate the weight of their contribution to the American people of to-day. Many methods may be used, each throwing some light on the subject. The particular one which will be presented here is that of considering what counts in determining the relative significance of immigrants to a new country.

In the beginning we must remember that the very act of emigration severs countless ties with the past, as marriage does with the old home. But the division between the members of a race who migrate and those who stay at home is not merely a severance but somewhat also a separation of kinds. Although we may not take the words of the New England divine, Mr. Shephard, that God had "sifted a whole nation that he might send the choice wheat to New England," in the sense in which he meant them, they nevertheless represent a fact. Emigration does sift. As to the character of sifting we get a war of adjectives; one says that it is the adventurous who go, another that it is the restless; one, that it is the unsuccessful, another that it is the optimistic. While these adjectives are hurled with intent to disparage or to praise, they do not quite create a division into good and bad, and they have their value if they are carefully used. When migration is difficult, few but the adventurous come, ancestors of initiative and daring; when it is easy, not only the adventurous, but also the merely restless, ancestors of thriftlessness and instability. It is true that the successful are not apt to leave; but success is relative, and many migrate because of the greatness of their vision of real success. All these adjectives, moreover, describe different aspects of a certain temperament, and emigrants sifted out of the home populations

for such causes possess to begin with certain elements of division from the home community and certain elements of understanding among themselves.

Many have piled up long lists of such adjectives to differentiate the migrating from the stay-at-homes, but it is doubtful whether we can really go much further than we have gone. The rich seldom migrate, and transportation has not yet become so easy that the poorest can migrate; and here we get a real difference in that a new country seldom reproduces the extremes of the old. The conservative temperament is opposed to change of place as of condition, and a new country tends to be more radical than the old ones; but we must not forget that many so-called conservatives are merely ardent lovers of certain conditions and sometimes become colonists to preserve a state of things that is passing away, while many radicals love the contest more than either victory or escape, and stay to fight. In general, those whose sensibilities are most tender cannot bear transplantation, and hence poetry seldom flourishes in colonies as in the motherland; but those whose vision is fixed upon the possibility of attaining an actual poetry of life, a utopia, are first to seek virgin fields in which to build it, and hence social reformers flourish most abundantly in such lands. Finally, those who best fit in at home stay there, and the misfits leave, which brings us back to the point that a population created by immigration begins its existence differentiated from the population from which it is drawn.

These are but deductions that anyone acquainted with human phenomena might make in his study, but they would not have been stated here had they not checked up with the observed facts of American history. Obviously there are some exceptions. The enforced migration of the negroes excluded the play of natural forces, and some of those who fled from fire and sword, like a portion of the Palatine Germans, had little room for choice. The case of the later Germans, however, is one to which the principles soundly apply. The Scotch-Irish, the Irish, and the Welsh again divided by natural selection; and while the Huguenots were harried from their homes, everyone knows that they were an element that had long been different from their victorious brothers of the blood. Every migrating group has its his-

tory, and this history nearly always tells of some cleavage of interest, or opinion, or circumstance that had begun its work before the physical separation took place.

Most interesting is the case of the English, for here not only was the cleavage marked, but there was from the beginning a set purpose to create in America a community different from that left behind. It was, in fact, this fixed collective purpose that from the first gave a sense of direction to American life, and created a national rather than a colonial community. The amount of dissatisfaction was much less than in many other cases, and their desire was not to revolutionize the structure of society, but, to use their own term, to "purify" it. Nor was there any desire at the beginning to separate; rather it was believed that from their new vantage ground their influence would react to "purify" England. For a time it seemed, indeed, that this hope would be realized. When, however, in 1660, the English commonwealth fell before the restoration, the permanence of the cleavage was established, and, while both branches of the race developed alike toward that general goal we call democracy, their methods continued from that date to differ.

The nature of their differences can perhaps most simply be expressed if we substitute for the seventeenth-century term "puritan" the current English term "nonconformist." Englishmen who see the United States neatly divided into dioceses, and meet their affable and learned bishops, are apt to overlook the significance of this difference. Yet the Protestant Episcopal church, the daughter of the church of England, to which these bishops belong, numbers only two and a half million adherents, while, not to mention the countless sects that would be nonconforming did they exist in England, the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists alone number forty-two million and a half. Nor is it forgotten that Virginia was given much of its character by a cavalier element moved to exodus by the rule of Cromwell, for this strain, though its influence was subtle and pervasive, was infinitesimal in numbers, and a very great portion of the slaveholding oligarchy consisted of Scotch-Irish, who, like Calhoun their leader, descended from the mountains into the plain, and, adopting the habits and social philosophy of the Virginian, retained the conscience of noncon-

formity. When one realizes all the social and political connotations that are associated with religious nonconformity or kirk, one wonders that three centuries of separation have left Americans and English as alike as they are, especially as one must remember that English nonconformists themselves cannot be expected too closely to resemble their brethren across the ocean, for a perpetual minority acquires quite different characteristics from a majority, even though it holds the same fundamental principles.

This differentiation between the emigrant and his home people makes possible the unification of the immigrants of differing races. In fact, it helps create it, for in so far as migration is a natural sifting process it sifts individuals of like quality from different countries, and sometimes the similarity goes beyond temperament and extends to ideas and purposes. The protestant majority in America is not made up of English nonconformists alone, but of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Dutch and Germans of kindred creeds, and it was by the dream of a Quaker utopia that William Penn induced so many of his Rhenish coreligionists to cross the ocean. Under such circumstances the representatives of various races, finding themselves on a foreign shore, have some initial disposition toward coöperation. How far the spiritual separation between the several parts of each race will go, and how complete will be the blending of the fragments of the several races cast together in the new land, will depend upon the conditions of the migration and the conditions that they find. One racial element may dominate, they may segregate and divide power, or they may mingle. That is, these are the extreme possibilities; actually one is almost certain to find tendencies in all these directions. Certainly in the United States blending has been the most conspicuous, but brief notice must be taken of the cross currents.

The negro was brought over for a separate occupational purpose, semitropical agriculture; similarly were German glassmakers, Swiss dairymen, Chinese coolies for railroad building, Italian wine growers, and many others. In later days, when economic conditions had become somewhat fixed, many races were forced to edge their way in by adopting some particular occupation. The first Italians were fruit-venders and organ

men. The Greeks to-day almost monopolize the palatial shoe-shining parlors that grace our cities, which led a friend of the writer's to remark that the ancestors of the Greeks gave polish to our minds, while the Greeks of to-day give polish to our soles. No race, however, has remained fixed in any special pursuit. Even the negroes are only predominantly, not entirely, agricultural; and the only other occupational class, to turn for a moment from race, that seemed likely to remain fixed, that of the plantation slaveholders, was swept from its fastnesses by the cataclysm of civil war and reconstruction.

There has been also a certain tendency for races to seek in America the climate and the natural surroundings most suggestive of their old homes. The Swiss farmers of Wisconsin are perched on the hilltops, overlooking the Germans in the valley bottoms. If one deals with massed figures, the races tend to spread over the country somewhat horizontally, preserving the European geographical relationships; Danes are few in Texas, Italians engage in agriculture chiefly in California. The interlapping and overlapping and the diffusion of exceptional individuals, however, are so great that this is but the most generalized of generalizations. The attempt of the Germans to collect to dominate one state, Wisconsin, failed, although they have the numbers to dominate several. Only one race is tending toward, instead of away from, geographical segregation — the negro, who, since the civil war, has been drawing more closely together in certain sections, and in certain quarters of cities.

There is, indeed, probably a natural tendency for those who have once torn themselves from the roots which previous generations have put down so deep in one particular spot and industry, to continue to shift and move. Given freedom and wide opportunity, such as America has afforded, a people formed of immigrants will be a people given to change, and actually in the lives and family histories of most Americans there is not one great exodus, but many. Comparatively few fathers pass on their trades to their sons, and the social order and the address book fluctuate with an intensity that has increased rather than steadied down.

The varying races, therefore, have not found separate habitats and have not ranged themselves according to separate economic

strata, but have mingled geographically and industrially. Nevertheless there are many elements of difference, which have given them very unequal influence in the shaping of the nation.

It is one of the most fascinating tasks of American history to trace out the contributing ingredients of each community in the United States. The work of thousands of historians and of more generations than one, it can never in fact be complete, for elements are constantly changing. Yet the results already attained have a remarkable definiteness and exactness. One can predicate the dominant religious tone, the social code, and the politics of a town of which one knows only the population elements. In fact, of late years the campaign committees of some of the great parties have systematically employed historians who can tell them as accurately where to concentrate effort, where it is unnecessary, where useless, and what type of argument to present from varying platforms, as a geologist can tell where to sink shafts for coal or bore for oil.

Not only do the native characteristics of the race count — such as the political genius of the English, the philosophical flare of the Scotch, the finish of the French, the social charm of the Irish, the diligence of the Germans, the dreaminess of the Scandinavians, and so on — but also the relative quality of those who are drawn from each race.

Where emigration is too hard only speculative adventurers make the crossing, who leave few descendants and little influence; if it is too easy, as it has been of late from the Mediterranean countries, many of the inefficient come, who act as a drag upon their abler kinsmen. Circumstances vary infinitely the character of the flow. There are within the United States communities from which year after year the ablest boys are lured away forever by the great cities, but in which the ablest girls remain, and, marrying their inferiors, pass on a mingled stock of good and bad. In some more primitive communities, with earlier marriage and more sense of partnership of the sexes, the ambitious have all been drained away, leaving the unenterprising and backward. Such quality counts profoundly, and those races have counted most whose division has been the result of an ennobling conflict — not of fiery persecution on the one hand, which tests courage only, nor of the whiffs of sensational allure-

ment, nor of advertising, moving what otherwise would have been a dead calm. In addition to racial characteristics and moral quality, intellectual fiber also has been a factor in determining the relationship of the races. It is not, however, true that they have been influential according to the proportion of immigrants of high intellectual attainment that they have contributed; for the combination of ingredients has been more important than the quantity.

Men of cultivation and highly trained powers bring to the land both more and less of the old than do the ignorant. They bring knowledge of history and the toilfully acquired acquisitions of many generations, but they have already shaken off more of social prejudice and impregnated tradition. Such men as Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, and Carl Schurz quickly affiliated with and became a part of the governing class. They rose at once and precociously to influence, and as teachers and experts have all left their mark upon the United States for all time. All, however, were disappointed in their careers. When they attempted to be leaders, they all failed to attain to a confidence truly national, for they were none of them quite American; while they equally failed to lead their own transplanted races, for they anticipated them in their adjustment to American habits and ideals.

The ignorant, on the other hand, tend at first to flock together by the impulse of a common life in a strange land. Withdrawn, however, from the warmth of their national culture which at home subtilely pervades those most remote from its high altars, their common life tends to deteriorate. Even in the first generation their language grows apart, not from separate development, but from degeneration. The cultural atmosphere becomes dead, and the abler seek their self-realization not in this culture, which is dying or coarsening by transplantation, but by transferring themselves to the surrounding atmosphere, to which they come as eager disciples instead of apostles of their own inheritance, which they have never seen in its full glory. The United States and all countries peopled by immigrants of different lands are filled with such atrophied groups giving blood, but not racial quality, to the nation, and themselves withering or evaporating under the hot sun of a different social order.

Whether a people can be created by individuals, either learned or ignorant, or both together, is a question, because it has never been done. Certainly, however, a racial culture cannot be so transplanted. Rather it must grow like yeast by the generation of new, complete organisms; although such organisms are more subject to variation than those of the vegetable world. It is the transplanted community, with its whole life—its rich and poor, its good and bad, its minister or priest, its physician, its schoolteacher, its cobbler, its shopkeeper, its books, and its furniture—that carries to the new world not the mold but the model which, with many changes, with losses of accumulated wisdom, with gains of improvements long resisted, becomes the basis of a new and somewhat differing, but kindred, civilization.

It is with such communities, and their interrelations and their dealings with newcomers, that one is chiefly concerned when probing the relative influence of different races in America, beyond what is explained by the blood and the quality of the immigrants. The United States might well be called the United Communities, for it is the product not of the union of forty-eight states, but of that of thousands of communities founded by groups each having at the beginning a large measure of social completeness. Such communities must be divided into those which are natural and those which are artificial; that is, those which are composed of people from differing places who flock together because of similarity of ideas. The mortality of the latter by sudden and angry dispersal has been very great, but some have attained great prosperity, like that of the Mormons. In general, however, they have seldom shown vitality, and are dying yearly of anemia.

So many of the strictly offshoot variety exist, or have vanished by the very success of their assimilating influence and have become, like Boston, a "state of mind," that only classes of them can be mentioned. The oldest was the English parish, transplanted to New England, without its squire, without primogeniture, with a minister in place of a rector; a parish fallen into the hands of the chapel. Then there was the English country estate, transplanted to Virginia and the Carolinas, with slaves substituted for tenantry; in Maryland was the transplanted estate with a Catholic gentry; in Pennsylvania, the parish inhab-

ited by Quakers. In New York were Dutch towns and feudal estates with Dutch lords; in Pennsylvania, Rhine villages without princes; in Louisiana was a little Paris; all along the Alleghenies, a Scotch highlands inhabited largely by Scotch lowlanders. Along the border from Texas to California were transplanted Spanish ranches and monastic communities, but so little blood came with them that not much remains except a degenerate language and picturesque manners and costumes. Themselves dividing, these communities spread westward, the fragments cast off becoming smaller and less complete until, a national community having been created, it was possible for individuals to wander, safe in finding a soil fertile for the propagation of culture as well as life.

On the whole, those races have counted most whose first comers enjoyed sovereignty in America, as the Spanish, the English, the French, and the Dutch, or put down their roots in the colonial period, as the Pennsylvania Germans and the Scotch. To the races that came later the foundation of such communities was more difficult. It is true that in every large American city one finds a "Little Italy," a "Chinatown," a "Ghetto," a "Bohemia" which is not the artists' quarter, and other sections where the faces in the windows proclaim a common racial origin. In large measure, however, these are aggregations, not communities. The intellectual and the cultivated of these nations are welcomed into the life about them and are gradually weaned away from their cruder compatriots, leaving them to the process of absorption and decay that we have noticed.

It is true that after a generation or two, when prosperity has brought leisure and wealth to the descendants of the first immigrants, there comes a period of sentimental reaction toward their old home. Innumerable societies perpetuate racial distinctions. The English are so many that few attempt to recall simply English origin, but we have American descendants of the *Mayflower* immigrants, of royalty, and of Anglo-Saxon royalty, and innumerable family associations. Many societies recall long residence in America, as the Colonial dames, the Society of the colonial wars, the Sons and Daughters of the American revolution. There are Scotch societies and Hebrew societies, and German and Welsh societies; there will be Russian, Turkish, and

Czech-Slovak societies. Each tries to recall the habits of the old home, celebrates old holidays, builds a clubhouse in the old architecture, plays old plays, and systematically exaggerates the rôle of its race in the making of America. Some have been propagandist. Undoubtedly such movements might become in time disruptive, would become so if the aggregated population units from which their blood flows had not in most instances broken up by the time the societies came into existence; it is in fact only when they are scattered that the call for artificial organization becomes really strong. One fears such influences the less, moreover, when one finds that the habitual "joiner" usually is a member of several societies, and that the children of members generally balk at learning the ancestral language. Such organizations, however, do much to preserve and diffuse some tradition of the racial culture and to promote the influence of the best of their inheritance on American life.

It is nevertheless true that in spite of difficulties some of the later races have planted cultural seeds in America. Preëminent have been those established by the Germans, which dot the country from the Alleghenies to the Rockies, from the lakes to the Ohio, and which divide most of the large cities into social groups. Over a smaller area in the midst of this region are distinct, but much less complete, Scandinavian communities. In the large cities of the east the Jews are able to lead a self-centered life, and the French Canadians of New England supply themselves with churches, partly with the lower schools, and to some extent with physicians and politicians; but they generally have to go to an unlabeled American to get their teeth pulled. Such communities undoubtedly not only prolong the persistence of race characteristics, but will increase their racial contribution to the final amalgam of American character; all are subject, however, to the disintegrating influence of a surrounding social order, the main features of which are the result of an amalgam of the earlier communities. Great personal success means almost inevitable absorption, and thus they lose their leaders and their future.

We have now observed how these different races coming to America have reacted on each other; it remains for us to consider some of the reasons why their reactions have been as they have. Already we have gathered some of the most important as

we have gone along. We have noticed how the immigrant dropped something of his race on leaving home, how the selective process of emigration sent to the new world people somewhat alike in temperament and ideals, how the grouping of certain immigrants in communities tended to bend the twig so that to some extent a pattern was shaped for the later sap which simplified the process of fusion into a single growing organism.

There are in addition certain other reasons which are obvious and need only statement. First has been the wonderful unifying effect of a common effort for a common end. Work in America has not been the simple monotonous round of so many hours of motions more or less active, rewarded according to a long-fixed community judgment, and with the gaining of a livelihood as the only tangible end. Very visible even to the less imaginative has been the necessity to each and all of the conquest of continent, the slow advance of civilization into the wilderness. Very plain to all has been the partnership of all. Not only have individuals been forced to coöperate for the same end, but the thousand and one communities also have been forced to lay aside their aloofness and join forces in the great advance. Even where distance has rendered the partnership less apparent the similarity of the tasks has created a common understanding based on like problems and like dangers. The conquest of the frontier crushed and ground the races that took part in it into a real soil out of which Americanism has grown. Undoubtedly the great physical and spiritual tests of war have, from time to time, rapidly fused the whole, but these sudden heatings have but acted on metal ready for the process; not war, but work, has been the great reagent.

This unity of the task before different races and individuals has been the result of a geographical unity which is the material basis of nationality in the United States. As Lincoln said, "The area now possessed by the United States is fitted to be the home of one nation, and it is not fitted to be the home of two or more." As the frontier has vanished, and with it the similarity of tasks, the temptation has been ever stronger to do business on a national scale. The profits and the excitements of catering to the tastes of buyers from Maine to California have constantly educated business men to the ideas of wider and wider circles.

The *Saturday evening post,* to sell its millions of copies, has to know the psychology of all races and all communities; and in turn the universal caterer helps unify the population which he serves, and women cut their children's clothes to Butterick patterns from ocean to ocean, from Canada to Mexico, so that little Americans, looking at the pictures in the Sunday school magazines, can readily pick out other little Americans from among the children of all lands there depicted. To turn to the most important manifestation of this unity, what chance has a language which has lost its graces and which opens up only rather poor and widely separated communities, in competition with one which opens up both the highest social fastnesses and a continental market? Unless artificial barriers had intervened, the language at least which first obtained dominance seems to have been sure of ultimate triumph.

That such artificial barriers have not arisen is largely the result of general principles which have consciously been applied. First has been the equality of all before the law. America has not always welcomed all races to its shores, but, with one exception, it has given them equal treatment once they were admitted. Since the civil war that exception has been done away with, and the same courts administer the same law for all. It is true that some courts do not administer it in the same way for all, nor is there any country where the law serves all with absolute equality. It has been, however, an American characteristic to demand that the law be sound, that the law represent an ideal, even if human nature fall below that ideal. Hardly anything in American political conceptions is more fundamental than this. It is not a concession to the weak; infinitely easier would it be for the negro and the newcomer if a separate law adapted to their needs existed. It represents justice, not mercy. Yet it is doubtful if any idea has contributed more to the making of the nation than this holding of all to one standard. No one can complain, and in the case of the oppressed in many other lands it sends a thrill of self-respect down the spine to know that his conduct will be measured by the same rule as that of the established, the rich, and the learned. But this equality has not been a matter of individuals alone; communities also have shared it. The early proprietors of colonial lands, knowing that these would

bring in no return unless peopled, found that to people them they must offer what people wanted; and in those days, when individuals rarely ventured over alone, they found that community independence was the most compelling inducement. Thus were the colonies founded, and to-day hardly a suburban subdivision is opened up which does not offer something in addition to land and physical plan, some basic social idea to make it a utopia, free to control its development, subject only to the common law of all. It is not that the United States has resorted to decentralization, but rather that centralization has evolved only when the situation has absolutely demanded it.

Equality has meant not only subjection to the same law, but equality in making the law. The right to vote was much restricted in the early colonies, but it steadily expanded and it did not, except in the case of the negro, depend upon race. In fact, in colonial times black blood did not generally exclude from the vote, though it did later. Undoubtedly, also, the sense of equality has ever been stronger in America than elsewhere and remains so, though the franchise has ceased to be distinctive, because economic and social opportunity has given substance to the equality of the vote. It is true that all persons in America are not economically equal nor have they been, but the opportunity of all has been, relatively to people of other nations, more nearly equal. Equality of treatment, democracy of the people, equality of privilege, democracy by the people, equality of opportunity, democracy for the people, have been the governing principles in the handling of the race problem in America. In other words, the problem has been ignored, natural forces have been allowed to work, the law has merely prevented the forcible clash of nationalities. No language has been prosecuted, no animosities have been excited, and consequently the attractions of a dominant language have won. Religion has ceased to be a bar to advancement. Where difference is not condemned, it excites self-examination rather than hostility. Where no race has an advantage, individuals may drop some distinguishing characteristics of their own race and adopt those of others, may marry with representatives of other races, without the fear that they will bequeath a social stigma to their descendants.

The constructive embodiment of this equality has been in edu-

cation. Of the importance of education in America and of the importance that Americans attach to education, it will be unnecessary to speak, but of one particular feature of American education. In America education is the open door; now that the occupation of the continent has become complete, and with it natural advantages have become less open, it is the school that preserves and intensifies the equality of opportunity between rich and poor. Like the law it refuses to recognize racial differences, it attempts to make minds keep pace as the army does bodies, and it obliterates differences of origin in civil life as completely. It is not calculated to develop each according to his inherited characteristics, but treats all as equal individuals on the same path to individual self-fulfillment. It is a door which public opinion never allows to close; never can the educator, intent upon results, say "pass here," or "pass there and your future is determined;" always the advancing student must find the door still open before him leading to any portion of the republic to which his brain and his character can carry him. Children in school cry "Sheeny," and "Yapp," and "Dago," and "Dutchy," but all are equally American in that all have the same opportunity; the future of all depends on doing business with each other, which must be conducted in the dominant language under the same law, and they all are given, as far as school can give it, the same content of mind. They fall in love across the line of race, and by some device of nature not as yet understood, even if they do not intermarry, their skulls and bony structures, as has been found by the study of tens of thousands of cases, tend to grow alike. In the first generation immigrants cling together and partly forget their own language without really learning a new one. In the second generation of a family one of the children has the physique and the manner of the surrounding Americans, all speak English, probably not one at thirty could converse in the ancestral language, one or two marry outside the race, and probably not more than one clings to the racial quarter. In the next generation the time has come, if the germ is there, for the great man whom all observers will mark as a characteristic embodiment of the American spirit. In this third generation, also, there will be among his cousins some one who will revive sentimental memories of the old coun-

try, whatever it may be; for there is often a sort of wistfulness among Americans, and the sensitive feel the lack of old roots and memories. But many men and women of action who would have died futile in the old homes their grandparents left, achieve that self-realization and some few that amelioration of society for the benefit of others, the desire for which was the impelling force of the first migration, and which, instinctive in so many of those who migrated to America, has made the Americans a nation of dreamers, a fair percentage of whose dreams come true; has made them a new nationality, representing a combination of many conflicting utopias, smoothed into harmony by the wholesome energy of hard and common labor in the fresh air of equality — political, economic, constructive.

The pilgrim may seem as much overwhelmed in this discussion as he is overshadowed by the numbers of succeeding immigrants, but the central theme is that the count is not by numbers when influence is to be considered. The pilgrims constituted one of the most complete and closely bound communities that ever came to America, and they came among the first. They contributed church organization to Massachusetts and political principle and framework that still endure throughout America; for new sap has flowed through the pattern traced by the first shoots. Had these principles been repugnant and their framework irksome to the more numerous later comers, they would have been early snapped; but the pilgrims' influence has remained potent, because in certain respects their successors resembled them in point of view and in experience. Where the type remains the same, the power of the model remains the more persistent. But the influence of the pilgrims is continued not only because of the valient productivity of the pilgrim stock, nor because, coming early, they set the runways for the future stream, but still more because of the purely spiritual fact that opportunity placed them upon an eminence where their deserts steadily maintain them. Like a beacon set on a hill, their story has focussed the attention of succeeding generations, who have found their simplicity and their courage, their self-reliance and their neighborly kindliness, qualities which they have been proud to consider American, and which consciously and unconsciously they have continued to make American. Told with the engaging

charm of William Bradford, and retold in every textbook, the story of the pilgrims will remain a vital spirit sweetening the melting pot as long as America endures.

Carl Russell Fish

University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

JANE GREY SWISSHELM: AGITATOR

Into this world of sorrow are born some who can never be content to leave things as they find them; the seers, the prophets, the reformers, all of them discover in their souls something which is out of tune with the particular portion of the universe in which their lot is cast, and strive all their mortal days to bring to the exact degree of tautness the jangling string. Some of them pass into the beyond with the sickening sense that their efforts have been vain; others, perhaps more fortunate, survive to behold their ideas taken up and carried to a certain fruition. But they, in turn, may perceive the ever-renewing breed of the restless seeking to overturn and to reshape even those factors which have escaped the desecrating hand of earlier readjusters. Others, again, are never satisfied with the accomplishment of one change, but turn, impelled by the urge within, to newer fields of contest and perhaps conquest. These stormy petrels of society have a function to perform. To change the figure, they are the gadflies which sting their fellows from their self-content and their easily satisfied desires, prod them till, from very disgust at the importunity, they sluggishly and unwillingly allow themselves to deviate into new and untrodden paths.

Such a soul of revolt was born into the then frontier town of Pittsburgh in 1815. Jane Grey Cannon,[1] daughter of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who treasured the legends of covenanter

[1] In 1880 Mrs. Swisshelm published the story of her life down to the close of the civil war under the title *Half a century* (Chicago). She states in this work that she wrote from memory, having destroyed all letters and papers lest they be used for some evil purpose. Sketches of her life are found in *Appletons' cyclopædia of American biography*, edited by James G. Wilson and John Fiske (New York, 1887-1889); in William B. Mitchell, *History of Stearns county* (Chicago, 1915), 2: 1080, 1404-1406; in Daniel S. B. Johnston, "Minnesota journalism in the territorial period," in *Minnesota historical collections*, 10 (part 1): 346-347; and in *A history of the republican party from its organization to the present time to which is added a political history of Minnesota from a republican point of view and biographical sketches of leading Minnesota republicans*, published by E. V. Smalley (St. Paul, 1896), 309-311. In the preparation of the present sketch *Half a century* has been much used.

days, was brought up in an atmosphere saturated with the ozone of service and poisoned with the mephitic exhalations of self-immolation and self-repression. Not even the love with which the mother enveloped the household could dissipate all the baleful influences of the less attractive side of Calvinism. Nothing but New England puritanism or covenanter severity can account for a two-year-old conscience "tortured" by the vanity of wearing new red shoes and white stockings "beautifully clocked" at services in a Presbyterian meetinghouse where the sanctuary was never profaned by the singing of "human compositions, but resounded only to the cadence of Rouse's version of David's psalms." Nor otherwise could come easily the morbidity which would force an infant under six years of age to crouch at night by the side of an open grave where lay the body of a woman, three years buried yet in a "wonderful state of preservation," and gaze at the still face in the opened coffin with confident expectation of beholding a supernatural apparition. Years afterwards the experience was described as "inexpressibly grand, solemn and sad. . . . Earth was far away and heaven near at hand, but no ghost came, and I went home disappointed."

Bereft of the head of the house when Jane was seven years old, the Cannon family, back in Pittsburgh, after a few years in the "new village" of Wilkinsburg, had a somewhat difficult time to make an adequate living. To eke out an income Jane was taught lace-making, an art which she, seated on the ample lap of an attentive pupil, passed on to women of the neighborhood. At this mature age she began painting and made a profit by selling the pictures which she produced, once receiving the munificent sum of five dollars from one who was willing to become her patron and finance her education in art. Later, after her marriage, while again dabbling in colors Jane was seized with the conviction that following this avocation was inconsistent with her duties as a wife, and she gave up what she believed was really her calling in life—for writing, wherein she did achieve at least notoriety, never impressed her as a true and satisfying outlet for her soul's expression.

Of course, joining the church was expected of the child, but a suggestion from her mother that she should do so threw her into a panic of doubt and soul-searching. All the torment which an

adolescent could experience was hers, and after a descent into hell she arose "as one from a grave" with the conviction that her petition that "God should write his name upon my forehead, and give me a 'new name' which should mark me as his; and bring William [*her brother who had run away from home, and who subsequently died at New Orleans*] into the fold, and do with me as he would," had been favorably received. She was convinced that she had been chosen — was one of the elect — and this assurance remained with her to her death.

It was while journeying to a private school, a few miles from Pittsburgh, where she spent a few weeks earning her own keep and tuition by teaching the younger children, that she met the man whom she later married, just before she attained the age of twenty-one. James Swisshelm was the son of an old revolutionary soldier. His family was Methodist; his mother was one who " 'lived without sin,' prayed aloud and shouted in meeting," and incidentally dominated her family, even trying to make her new daughter-in-law conform. An alliance between a covenanter Presbyterian and such a man was believed by Jane's mother to be productive of no good, a sound belief, as the years demonstrated. Nevertheless, despite religious incompatibility, the marriage took place and the young couple went to Swisshelm's home to live, for his services were needed there; at least such was his own and the opinion of his mother.

So long as the two families remained together there was little peace. Jane was convinced that mere marriage did not connote absolute self-abnegation. Her husband, strongly supported by his mother, could not see why his wife would not put aside her prejudices and strive to make him happy by doing as he wished. An early conflict grew out of Swisshelm's unquestioned admiration of his wife's abilities: he wanted her to exercise her undoubted talents by preaching in public, as Wesley ordained. "It was a very earnest discussion, and the Bible was on both sides; but I followed the lead of my church, which taught me to be silent. He quoted his preachers, who were in league with him, to get me to give myself to the Lord, help them save souls, by calling on men everywhere to repent; but I was obstinate. I would not get religion, would not preach, would not live with his mother, and stayed with my own." As Mrs. Swisshelm willingly ad-

mitted, their conflicts were all spiritual; "There never was a time when my husband's strong right arm would not be tempered to infantile gentleness to tend me in illness, or when he hesitated to throw himself between me and danger."

The irreconcilable incompatibility of the two is illustrated by a trivial affair following a sojourn in Louisville, and after Mrs. Swisshelm had returned to Pennsylvania. James sold out an unfortunate commercial enterprise for "a panther, two bears, and a roll of 'wild-cat money.'" He delighted in his domination over the panther, while his wife lived in mortal terror of the animal; and yet it was not until her life, as well as the lives of others, had been narrowly threatened by this beast more than once that he was induced to part with it. Apparently he was utterly at a loss to understand his wife's timidity.

The stay in Louisville impressed an indelible stamp upon the after career of Mrs. Swisshelm. There she saw slavery in some of its worst aspects — saw it as it is depicted in works of the type of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's cabin.* A hatred of the institution had been implanted in her by a clergyman in early days, but it was not until after her first-hand experience in a state where slaveholding was legal that she became a white-hot torch of abolition. It was then that she was impressed by the slaveholder as the beast she delighted to picture in the scathing denunciations which appeared in her later writings. In Kentucky she found the "advance guard of a great army of woman-whippers, which stretched away back to the Atlantic and around the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and that they were on duty as a staring brigade, whose business it was to insult every woman who ventured on the street without a male protector, by a stare so lascivious as could not be imagined on American soil. I learned that they all lived, in whole or in part, by the sale of their own children and the labor of the mothers extorted by the lash. . . . I learned that none of the shapely hands displayed on the black vests had ever used other implement of toil than a pistol, bowie-knife or slave-whip; that any other tool would ruin the reputation of the owner of the taper digits; but they did not lose caste by horse-whipping the old mammies from whose bosoms they had drawn life in infancy."

Jane Swisshelm apparently never knew that there was another

type of slaveholder—the man who did not love the institution for itself but who was unable to see how southern society could exist with a large negro population in its midst in other than a state of bondage. She never believed that there was a man who owned slaves and at the same time was considerate of them and of his fellow men of a lighter hue; who ruled his estate as a patriarch of old and, when he died, went to his grave lamented alike by bond and free. The unquestioned softer side of southern life never came beneath her gaze, and it is much to be doubted whether she could have seen anything there which did not fit into the picture she had drawn for herself in those unhappy days in Louisville, had she been allowed to have a wider experience. Pursuit and capture of fugitive slaves on the soil of free states, both before and after the enactment of the law of 1850, but confirmed her in her fixed idea.

It was after Mrs. Swisshelm's return to Pittsburgh, occasioned by the fatal illness of her mother, that she first appeared in print, anonymously, in an attack upon capital punishment. Two years later, in 1842, after she and her husband had returned to the farm in Pennsylvania, she began writing stories and poems, over the name "Jennie Deans," for *The Dollar Newspaper* and *Neal's Saturday Gazette*. Abolition articles and thoughts on woman's rights were published in Fleeson's *Spirit of Liberty*, of Pittsburgh. Here again the inability of Mrs. Swisshelm and her husband to see eye to eye is evidenced, for he was wroth that she concealed her identity: If she were not ashamed of her production, why did she not sign her name?

Nevertheless, at this time things were in the way of progressing smoothly between Jane and her husband, when Swisshelm's mother went to live with the young people; and thereafter it was a case of constant friction, the principal cause of which seems to have been jealousy on the part of the elder woman, who resented the influence Mrs. Swisshelm exercised over her husband and others. Twice did things arrive at such a pass that Jane left Swisshelm, determined never to return, but in each case a reconciliation was effected.

The Mexican war came and went, affording additional texts for the nearly weekly essays and sermons which Mrs. Swisshelm wrote in the intervals between teaching school and attending to

household duties. During this time she emerged from anonymity when there appeared in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* a "hexameter rhyme half a column long" flaying the Methodist preachers who lent adhesion to the "Black Gag" rule adopted by a conference of their church in 1840, which forbade "colored members of the church to give testimony in church-trials against white members, in any state where they were forbidden to testify in courts."

Like most of the abolitionist papers, the *Spirit of Liberty* did not live many years; but after its decease the Pittsburgh *Commercial Journal*, edited by Robert M. Riddle, served as an avenue through which Mrs. Swisshelm could find her public after it had printed a letter of hers, with, however, an editorial disclaimer. The editor, a whig, had antislavery proclivities, and so the more willingly gave a place to diatribes against the war, slavery, and kindred subjects. "My style," Mrs. Swisshelm later wrote of these, "I caught from my crude, rural surroundings, and was familiar to the unlearned, and I was not surprised to find the letters eagerly read. The *Journal* announced them the day before publication, the newsboys cried them, and papers called attention to them, some by daring to endorse, but more by abusing Mr. Riddle for publishing such unpatriotic and 'incendiary rant.'"

Out of her own difficulties in securing for herself and from her husband certain property left her by her mother came a series of letters on married woman's right to hold property. After discoursing on general principles she seized upon a flagrant case which stirred the community and so held up existing laws to public scorn that she was in part instrumental in securing a change in the statutes of Pennsylvania, making it possible for a woman to acquire and hold property in her own name. It was this campaign which brought Mrs. Swisshelm an acquaintance with Edwin M. Stanton, then a young Pittsburgh lawyer.

An abolitionist paper, however, was needed. The *Albatross*, started in Pittsburgh in the fall of 1847, was going on the rocks, and its demise would leave the liberty party without an organ in western Pennsylvania, a calamity tantamount to the disintegration of the organization in that region. A sudden and unconsidered suggestion from Mrs. Swisshelm that she might start a paper of her own met with approval and the *Pittsburgh Sat-*

urday Visiter (Mrs. Swisshelm insisted on the *e*) was the result. For several years this sheet was issued, bearing the impress of its editor from heading to last column, with much of its news and practically all its editorial material from her pen. From first to last it was an organ for the denunciation of slavery and occasionally a mouthpiece for the advocacy of woman's rights. It flung its blows right and left, not unconsidered, but with the intention of hitting every head which appeared. Its circulation grew until it was one of the best known of the abolitionist newspapers. Like Garrison with his *Liberator*, Mrs. Swisshelm was not content in reaching only those who relished its pungent paragraphs, but she placed on its mailing list editors and prominent people all over the country. It penetrated the south and stung to fury those who saw themselves and their institutions attacked, so often without justice. Its influence was wider than its circulation, for it was quoted extensively either to praise or to condemn. A woman was publishing a newspaper and that added to the anger of many.

"A woman has started a political paper! A woman! Could he [*an editor*] believe his eyes? A woman! Instantly he sprang to his feet and clutched his pantaloons, shouted to the assistant editor, when he, too, read and grasped frantically at his cassimeres, called to the reporters and pressmen and typos and devils, who all rushed in, heard the news, seized their nether garments and joined the general chorus, 'My breeches! Oh, my breeches!' "

One of the bold men who ventured a somewhat pointed remonstrance and, in the course of a two-thirds-column article stated that Mrs. Swisshelm was "a man all but the pantaloons," was answered in a rime which turned the laugh upon him. This man, George D. Prentice, editor of the *Louisville Journal*, had many a tilt with his female opponent, of which a little interchange in 1859, when Mrs. Swisshelm was editing the *St. Cloud Democrat*, is a sample. One or two opening passes brought from Prentice this invitation:

"My pretty Jane, my dearest Jane,
Ah, never look so shy,
But meet me in the sanctum, Jane,
When the flagon's filled with rye;"

and from Mrs. Swisshelm, this acceptance:

> "Will darling Georgy, norgy, porgy—
> My sweety, chicky chaw—
> He two 'pooneys in him's flagon
> Or two roundy bits of straw;
> Or dip him's brighty beak in
> And eat him's ryey raw?

In plain prose: Will that rye be made into mush? If so, couldn't you add a little 'lasses? or into coffee, when, as you have no cups, we would want two straws, or are we going to take our rye hen-fashion and whole?"[2]

Among the earliest results of the *Visiter's* tactics was a threatened libel suit growing out of an attack upon a federal district judge for his conduct of a case wherein a man was charged with harboring a fugitive slave. A week or so after the trial Mrs. Swisshelm stated that she had been long seeking a great legal luminary of the Pennsylvania heavens which had suddenly disappeared; after looking for it diligently through the best telescopes obtainable, she suddenly bethought herself of Paddy's gun barrel which he had twisted so that he might shoot around corners. "Paddy's idea was so excellent that I adopted it and made a crooked telescope, by which I found that luminary almost sixty degrees below our moral horizon." The anger of the good judge brought forth an "Apology," in which she stated that she would gladly be sent to Mount Airy, the county jail, because its elevation would make it an admirable observatory where she could use her telescope to better advantage. Judge Grier did not prosecute the suit for libel, and no longer played with fire, as is evidenced by a reputed remark of a lawyer engaged to defend another harborer of fugitive slaves. When it was suggested to him that Mrs. Swisshelm should be brought as a witness, he is alleged to have said: "Oh bring her by all

[2] A week or so later Mrs. Swisshelm closed the interchange of amenities with the following: "George D. Prentice. — This gentlemen and ourself have been having an 'old hen' confab; and we should have been glad to continue it *ad infinitum*, had he been pleased to be either witty or severe; but he has got into a barrell of 'treacle,' and is all sticky, and soft, and smeary and disgusting, Bah! He surely did not know we were subject to sever [*sic*] attacks of Nuralgia [*sic*] of the stomach, or he would not have run the risk of throwing us into vomiting which no medical skill could arrest." *St. Cloud Democrat*, October 27, 1859.

means. No matter what she knows, or whether she knows anything; bring her into court and I'll win the case for you. Grier is more afraid of her than the devil."

While editing the *Visiter*, Mrs. Swisshelm wished to go to Washington at the time the question of the disposition of the territories taken from Mexico was uppermost in the country. An inquiry addressed to Horace Greeley brought her an offer of five dollars a column for Washington letters for his *Tribune*, so that the financial side of the pilgrimage was attended to. At the national capital she was brought in contact with many of the great personages of the day; she won the privilege of a seat in the reporters' gallery of the senate chamber, hitherto reserved for the exclusive use of masculine scribblers; and she brought gladness to the hearts of the thousands of readers of Greeley's "Bible" with her spicy letters describing persons and events, and commenting upon life in general.

No better illustration of the obsession regarding slavery which dominated Mrs. Swisshelm is found than in her poisoned view of every notable individual connected with the great struggle of 1850. Tales which passed current among many of the more hopeless type of abolitionists she seized upon as examples of the depravity of the whole tribe of slaveholders: that of President Tyler's selling a daughter into slavery because she tried to run away with and marry the man she loved; that of the profligacy of Henry Clay; and that of fleeing slaves seeking death in the Potomac rather than suffer capture and return to servitude. She smacked her lips over the yarn that President Taylor was put out of the way because he opposed the new fugitive-slave law: "He ate a plate of strawberries, just as President Harrison had done when he stood in the way of Southern policy, and like his great predecessor Taylor died opportunely, when Mr. Filmore became President, and signed the bill."

But of all the examples of depravity the case which interested her most was a "family of eight mulattoes, bearing the image and superscription of the great New England statesman, who paid the rent and grocery bills of their mother as regularly as he did those of his wife." After much hesitation she decided to show to New Englanders the "true" picture of their idol, Daniel Webster, and wrote the yarn in a letter to the *Tribune* which

that paper published but for which it later apologized. This exposé, she was convinced, was the real cause of Webster's defeat for the whig nomination in 1852, and she stated that Henry Wilson, a senator from Massachusetts and the author of *The history of the rise and fall of slave power in America*, assured her, on the occasion of the free democratic convention of that year, that her letter, rather than the "seventh of March" speech, or the Ashburton treaty of 1842, was the real reason for Webster's rejection.

About 1852 the *Visiter* was amalgamated with the weekly *Journal*, making a combination, under the name *Family Journal and Visiter*, with which Mrs. Swisshelm continued her editorial connection until March, 1857. Not long after this she took the step on which she had long been pondering. Her marriage had been a failure, "productive of mutual injury." For her it had meant twenty years "without the legal right to be alone one hour—to have the exclusive use of one foot of space—to receive an unopened letter, or to preserve a line of manuscript

'From sharp and sly inspection.'"

For her husband it had been a deprivation, since it had prevented his having a wife "who could pad the matrimonial fetters with those devices by which husbands are managed." To a formal separation Swisshelm would not listen. Plain desertion was then the only recourse. Accordingly, after a sharp struggle to secure her personal and separate property, Mrs. Swisshelm took her infant daughter and set out for St. Paul in May, 1857, intending to take up life anew near St. Cloud on land secured through her brother-in-law who, with her sister, had some time since gone to live in that new village of Minnesota.

The idyllic existence to which she looked forward could not be, since danger of Indian attacks made it madness to attempt to live beyond the protection of the settlement: "My cabin perished in a night, like Jonah's gourd—perished that liberty might be crushed in Kansas; for without a garrison at Fort Ripley, my project was utterly insane."

In St. Cloud itself, then, Mrs. Swisshelm settled, but not to bury in the past the struggle against slavery which she had been waging for years; for slavery, negro slavery, she found

in Minnesota. Even then the agreeable summers of this northern region tempted men of means to come from the southland with retinues of domestic servants to avoid discomfort and pestilence with which every returning hot season scourged plantation and town in the lower Mississippi valley. In Minneapolis and St. Anthony, on the shores of Lake Minnetonka, southern families summered as regularly as the seasons revolved.

In St. Cloud Mrs. Swisshelm found not merely transient visitors, but a permanent resident, "General" Sylvanus B. Lowry, son of a Tennesseean who had been missionary, agent, and finally superintendent of manual-labor schools among the Winnebago. The "general," whose title was derived from the fact that he had once been attorney-general of the territory, was the democratic boss of northern Minnesota. He "lived in a semi-barbaric splendor, in an imposing house on the bank of the Mississippi, where he kept slaves, bringing them from and returning them to his Tennessee estate, at his convenience, and no man saying him nay." His sway was well-nigh despotic: "Republicans on their arrival in his dominion, were converted to the Democratic faith, fast as sinners to Christianity in a Maffitt meeting, and those on whom the spirit fell not, kept very quiet. People had gone there to make homes, not to fight the Southern tiger, and any attempt against such overwhelming odds seemed madness, for Lowry's dominion was largely legitimate. He was one of those who are born to command — of splendid physique and dignified bearing, superior intellect and mesmeric fascination." With Jane Grey Swisshelm and General Lowry in one town there were bound to be happenings of interest.

The opportunity for a clash was not slow in arriving. Deprived of her dream of a farm home, Mrs. Swisshelm accepted an invitation to take charge of a newly established paper and "take town lots for a salary." She changed the name of the paper to the *St. Cloud Visiter*, appealed through its columns and personally to all the leading personages of the town for support, and was assured of the backing of the community, even to General Lowry himself, who responded by writing, "I myself will give the *St. Cloud Visiter* a support second to no paper in the territory, if it will support Buchanan's administration." To the astonishment of all who learned of it, Mrs. Swisshelm

agreed to the terms. Her brother-in-law, when told that the rumor was true, "said bad words, rushed from the room and slammed the door."

Soon an issue of the *Visiter* showed Lowry how his bargain was to work.[3] Stating that the paper would support Buchanan's administration, the leading editorial of three and one-half columns went on to tell what that administration stood for—the establishment of slavery in every state and territory, making good Toombs' boast that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker hill. Northern "mudsills" were talking of voting themselves farms, but they would much better vote themselves kind masters, such as southern laborers had, and Buchanan and the *Visiter* were working together to that end. Lowry was probably grieved; unquestionably he was angry. He sent word that such things must cease or the consequences would be fatal. The next issue of the *Visiter* traced the course by which it had become a supporter of the administration and of a policy long opposed by the editor: General Lowry, accustomed to buying lands and people, had bought her and she proposed to earn the support which he promised by being Mr. Buchanan's most enthusiastic supporter, "indeed . . . his only honest supporter"; for while some pretended otherwise, the sole object of his administration was the perpetuation and spread of slavery, and this object the *Visiter* would support with the best arguments in its power.

Then action became perceptibly accelerated. A speech by Lowry's lawyer, Shepley, on the place of woman; an editorial praising the lecture but calling attention to the omission in his classification of types of the gambling woman not unknown even in Minnesota in the fifties; the lawyer's pretense that this was an allusion to his wife; General Lowry's rush to the defense of an abused lady; and a decision to mob the paper and its editor, all came in rapid succession. St. Cloud, however, would stand for no such method of breaking up a fair fight. Nevertheless, by night, three men broke into the printing establishment, smashed the press, scattered the type, some in the river and some on the road, and so sought to put an end to the whole

[3] The issue of February 18, 1858, contains the mock defense of Buchanan and the explanation of the *Visiter's* position.

issue.[4] This aroused the indignation of the portion of the populace inclining to Mrs. Swisshelm's way of thinking; a public meeting, where she gave an account of the whole affair, produced resolutions of support; subscriptions were taken, a company was formed to reëstablish the paper, and new equipment was rushed from Chicago.

When the *Visiter* was reëstablished in the middle of May, 1858, there was no pretense of supporting Buchanan, for the paper came out as a republican organ of the abolitionist school. A printed story of the act of vandalism brought a libel suit. Thereupon Mrs. Swisshelm persuaded the backers of her sheet, much against their will, to yield and give bond in the sum of $10,000 to retract the statement and promise never to use the *Visiter* as a political organ. One more issue, got out by the boys in the office, appeared, and the *Visiter* was no more. The next week brought no paper on the regular day of publication and great was the rejoicing of the forces who thought the discordant element had been removed from their tranquil settlement. But on the following day the *St. Cloud Democrat*, with Mrs. Swisshelm its sole owner and editor, made its bow to an astounded public.[5]

From 1858 until early in 1863 Mrs. Swisshelm scolded, praised, and generally guided St. Cloud, Minnesota, and the nation generally in the way they should go. Slavery, with its evils, was by far the most important issue displayed for condemnation, but it would be wearisome to go into the details of this fight. The paper generally supported the republican party, but it was not partisan in the strict sense of the word. Whenever the leaders of that new organization showed signs of yielding to expediency for political ends, they might have felt the lash of a mordant tongue as keenly as the most rabid southern democrat. Lincoln's nomination by the Chicago convention was greeted with no enthusiasm. Indeed, it was not till late and never with

[4] The *Visiter* for May 13, 1859, contains the story of the raid.

[5] This is an epitome of the somewhat dramatic presentation given in *Half a century*. Actually the chronology is slightly different. The last issue before the raid was on April 1; publication was resumed on May 13; the number for June 24, still bearing the old name, contained the announcement of the change of ownership and half a column of defiance to Mrs. Swisshelm's enemies. The issue got out by the boys was dated July 22, there having been none for about a month. The first number of the *Democrat* was dated August 5.

full approbation that Mrs. Swisshelm could lend her pen to support what she was pleased to call that president's truckling dealing with the crisis he was called to face. For a long time she was convinced that he was dominated by the proslavery border-state element. She poured the vials of her wrath upon his head when he took the ground that union forces were not to be used to assist negro slaves to escape from their masters. She condemned his reversing of Frémont's proclamation in Missouri. For what was the war being fought if not to put an end to slavery?

Late in 1861 her comments on Lincoln's first annual show her stand: "Our readers will regret, with us that while the world has been moving at railroad speed, for the past year, our good President has been fast anchored to that blessed, old, slave-catching Inaugural! No matter that slave-holders have been, all that time, using our armies to catch and return their slaves while the slaves have been used as the indispensable means of defeating our armies and destroying our government, Mr. Lincoln once recognized, and enlarged upon his presidential and constitutional duty of nigger-catching, as the one thing needful, and let the world wag as it will, or jog on if it likes Mr. Lincoln is going to be consistent with Mr. Lincoln, now! 'that's so.' No matter if the world moves to Jerico, he is going to stay and catch those niggers—'he is, certain.'" While the recognition of Haiti was some advance, on the whole "all else is contemptible in matter and manner. It is more like the production of a provincial lawyer, than the Commander-in-chief of the armies of a great nation, at war for existence."[6]

When slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, in the spring of 1862, Mrs. Swisshelm began to feel that Abe Lincoln and not Kentucky was in the saddle. But such approval as that might bring was tempered soon by Lincoln's abrogation of General Hunter's proclamation abolishing slavery in his district. The discharge of McClellan as a "stick-in-the-mud" was applauded; yet a few days later she summed up the record of the administration for its first twenty months by stating:

True, he has discharged Mr. McClellan, that arch traitor who for sixteen months has fought the battles of the Confederacy

[6] *St. Cloud Democrat*, December 12, 1861.

within the Union lines but he did it a full twelve months after he must have known him to be at least incompetent. He has issued his proclamation of Emancipation, to take effect sixteen months after he turned back the tide of popular sentiment by revoking that of General Frémont; and if he is thus to be always a year or more behind the flood tide of time he might as well remain stationary.

He is now in a position which eighteen months ago would have saved the nation but there is no assurance that his action is not too late; and there are but two things he could do either of which would give us confidence in the future of our Government—Resign or Die.[7]

When secession was actually in progress, Mrs. Swisshelm went with Greeley in saying, not sadly as did the bearded prophet of the *Tribune*, but blithely, "Let the erring sisters depart in peace."[8] From this position she swung to the ground that the south was too cowardly to fight; it could whip negro women, but could not stand up to men. Then, when the war was actually in progress, she was, true to her nature, all for action; one after another of the union military leaders fell under her disapprobation; either they were cowardly, or, more probably, they were poisoned with the virus of southern sympathy.

It should not be thought that, in the general national crisis, smaller issues were forgotten. General Lowry was for a long time an object of Mrs. Swisshelm's attention, particularly when in 1859 he was run by the Minnesota democrats for lieutenant governor against Ignatius Donnelly on the republican ticket.[9]

[7] *St. Cloud Democrat*, November 20, 1862.

[8] "The idea of getting up a civil war in order to compel the weaker States to remain in the Union, appears to us, horrible in the last degree. Threats of force are wicked and monstrous, as tending to exasperate a set of men little better than maniacs now. Let the North show a prompt willingness to make a fair and equitable settlement with the seceding States, and set them at rest about arming the States to repel Northern coercion and we shall have comparative quiet. We can see no good reason why the two confederacies should not live in as much harmony, at least, as that which has existed for some time past or is likely to do in the future, as members of the same nation." *Ibid.*, November 11, 1860.

[9] In 1862, when Donnelly was running for congress, Mrs. Swisshelm wrote him the following letter, the original of which is among the Donnelly manuscripts, owned by the Minnesota historical society. The letter is dated August 13.

Hon Ignacius Donnelly

Dear Sir

I write to say, privately, what it is not politic to urge in public viz. that I think your friends make a great mistake in taking your election as a foregone conclusion.

But in 1862, when the general became insane, she publicly announced that had people known his true condition, large allowance would have been made; for a man "struggling with the demon of hereditary insanity" there should have been nothing but "deep commiseration." Had his affliction been realized all would have felt the necessity of helping him, and would have borne with his weakness. "We recognize now," she continued, "the secret of that strange mesmeric influence he has exercised over those with whom he came in personal contact. It was

There is much dissatisfaction with the course of the National Administration — it so utterly fails to touch the heart of the people, that the masses are seized with apathy. You have to contend against the glaring fact that those who worked hardest to secure the election of your predecessor, and that administration, have been gen[er]ally overlooked in the press of the battle, and the Govnt patronage bestowed upon open enemies or doubtful friends, & against the strained efforts of the revived democracy, backed by the Volunteer system which draws off loyal men and leaves the rogues. If you are elected it will be after one of the hardest campaigns you have ever been through, or so it appears to me. If I could heartily support your opponent I should, in any event, expect some patronage, for the democrats reward their friends, the Republicans, their enemies. Major Cullen has large local interests here, & neutral people feel that to oppose him is to oppose our own local interests. He is one of my most liberal patrons & has been for years. I have disregarded my own pecuniary interests in time past, have served the Republican Party without money and without price, because there was a principle involved; but, as the present contest is, in reality for the U. S. Senatorship & that contest is between Rice and Aldrich & I should have to toss up a copper to choose between them I shall not oppose my patrons & and deprive my child of the means of education. I think you are much better qualified for Congress than Cullen & that Rice would make a better senator than Aldrich. So you are crossed, your platform is weak, Cullen's is wicked; but he gives me reason to believe he does not stand on it but agrees with Rice. You need the DEMOCRAT. To it you owe most of your popularity in this region, for it has persistently kept you before the people. I shall stop working sixteen hours a day to win office for people who give all their patronage to enemies. But Will Mitchell [*Mrs. Swisshelm's nephew*] is young and green (?), and wants badly to tear Cullen's platform to splinters. He would buy me out if he were able. I will take $1000 dollars [*sic*], half on delivery & the other on time. Or, I will do the best I can to [*illegible*] your election, *if you pay me fair living wages* or guarantee me in case you are elected some sufficient remuneration in the form of such public printing as I am justly entitled to, I shall place your name at the heads of my columns at any rate. It was forgotten last week in the rush of late news by the mail the night before; but more than this I cannot do in justice to those in my employ, unless you and your party help to sustain the paper. Kindest respects to Mrs Donnelly & in any case I am

Your Friend and Wellwisher

JANE G. SWISSHELM

On the back of the letter Donnelly made this indorsement: "Ans if elected would be glad to do anything in my power. Poor, or would do something at once."

the fitful self-assertion of a large, generous, genial soul, which has gone haltingly through this life, crippled by its clay fetters; but which will as certainly reach the object of its creation—the influence and happiness it was made to enjoy, as it is certain that even in the material economy of nature, nothing is ever suffered to go to waste." It was while she was on sick leave from Washington, in September, 1863, that she last saw the general. He was then enjoying one of the moments of lucidity which occasionally came to him, and in the course of the conversation he said to her:

> I am the only person who ever understood you. People now think that you go into the hospitals from a sense of duty; from benevolence, like those good people who expect to get to heaven by doing disagreeable things on earth; but I know you go because you must; go for your own pleasure; you do not care for heaven or anything but yourself. . . .
>
> You take care of the sick and wounded, go into all those dreadful places just as I used to drink brandy—for sake of the exhileration it brings you.

And who will say that the general did not hit at least a portion of the truth, not alone in the case of this restless woman, but in that of many another agitator who seeks to redirect in some degree the progress of society?

All was grist that came to Mrs. Swisshelm's mill: sickness and its proper treatment; the conduct of schools; woman's dress; social diversion. On one point, at any rate, the bringing-up of this woman had not been hedged about by puritanical narrowness, and this was with respect to dancing. She believed it a wholesome and harmless amusement, not merely to be tolerated but to be extolled as a positive good. Once she was taken to task by a good sister who, in a letter which was printed in the *Democrat*, rebuked the "sister" who not long before had been "speaking words of the most solemn import at a dying bed," for lending the approval of her presence at a dancing party. What wonder that God was visiting his people with sore afflictions when the dance hall was frequented "not only by the young and thoughtless, but by those who form public opinion, and profess to believe in Religion!"

"The business of dying," came the rejoinder, "will be time enough when it comes. . . . We have never met an instance

of a person whom we could think dancing had unfitted for dying: have nothing in our experience to show that it takes us further away from the contemplation of sacred things than does singing or sailing, running or laughing."[10]

She contrasted dancing with the "plays" with which godly people were wont to solace their lighter moments: "The clergy and church members generally have a special aversion to dancing, that is, to men and women, or boys and girls dancing together, provided the amusement end in dancing. But they may go through any number of dancing figures and motions to the sound of music and it is all right, provided it be topped off with promiscuous kissing . . . what led us to propose dancing in St. Cloud as an evening amusement was to have it take the place of those kissing rough and tumbles out of which a lady was fortunate if she came with whole clothes; and it has, in a great measure superseded them; but still the children of our extra pious people meet at an evening party, the scenes of the baboon's wedding are reënacted."[11]

Editorial duties were occasionally relieved by a lecture tour extending through the towns of Minnesota and even into the adjoining states. Woman's rights were ordinarily the subject of her talks, although slavery was not entirely overlooked. Wherever she went a good audience was assured,[12] and the people of

[10] *St. Cloud Democrat,* December 27, 1860.

[11] *Ibid.,* April 4, 1861. The good sister's biblical reference in the earlier issue was not allowed to pass without attention: "We are gravely asked what we should think of an account of one of the Apostles whirling Mary Magdalene around a room in a waltz. Well what would we all think of a description of Peter kneeling on one knee in the center of a room half full of people and taking Mary Magdalene on the other knee and kissing her twenty times to pay a forfeit and redeem his pocket knife? What should we think of the whole possy of them going through the march quardrille to the tune of 'Dear Sister Phoebe,' while Mary the mother of James went around the room and kissed every man in it by way of amusing the company?"

[12] After a lecture in St. Paul on women's, particularly married women's, rights, the local critic cast his comments in the form of a breakfast chat with Mrs. Critic. The latter resented his likening Mrs. Swisshelm to Shylock, whereupon he said: "As I anticipated, my dear, you are thinking of Shylock's inhumanity to Antonio in the celebrated trial scene. Now mind, I am not making Shylock immaculate — he unquestionably had human nature on his own eloquent showing, and unregenerate of course. I am only bound to show, before the toast gets cold, that you, as the sympathizer and friend of Mrs. Swisshelm, ought not to object to a comparison with the grand central figure of Shakspear's tale. And right here — in this trial scene —

St. Cloud were sure to find in their weekly paper animated accounts of what she saw and heard — everything from political gossip to accounts of the hotels where she stopped and descriptions of the dress and household management of women who entertained her.[13]

When the civil war was in progress Minnesota politics and small-town doings ceased to afford sufficient outlet for the pent-up energy of Jane Swisshelm's active mind and hand, and so she sold her paper and betook herself to Washington. There, after casting about for something to do, and incidentally meeting again her friend Stanton, the president, and particularly Mrs. Lincoln, with whom there sprang up a close friendship which lasted to her death, she found employment in nursing the wounded. Here, at least, was a chance to do and do again. Overcoming the disadvantage of being a woman and of being unconnected with some regular organization, she became a free lance and sought and found the worst hospitals, the most severe cases, and the most desperate need. For Miss Dorothea Dix, that woman's rights champion and organizer of a considerable portion of the sick-and-wounded relief of the war, she had small regard. Miss Dix was cold and unsympathetic, all for organization, order, and neatness, let the results be what they might. It is, indeed, a quite different picture than we are accustomed to find of the philanthropist who was instrumental in improving the conditions in prisons, insane asylums, and poorhouses, that Mrs. Swisshelm presents to us. Position meant nothing to her, unless

the analogy between the performances in the Venitian court chamber and Ingersoll Hall, strikes me most forcibly. Shylock would cut his pound of flesh — it was his own, his right, his revenge. Now think of Mrs. Swisshelm's plea for the justifiable homicide of husbands — the suppressed and terrible energy with which she reached the climax when she would 'tranfix her tyrant.' Now all that I say is, that Judge Palmer would be puzzled to settle accounts between the wronged Hebrew in the play, and the wronged wife of Mrs. Swisshelm's portraiture from real life.'' *St. Paul Press*, quoted in the *St. Cloud Democrat*, February 6, 1862.

[13] ''The Governor's house is a model of home comfort, and small elegancies, showing plain, good sense, and artistic taste in the mistress of the establishment. There is a piano, books, pictures, photographs of distinguished persons &c. — Eureka! Dinner without sauce plates. Oh, dear, but it was a relief to our meat and all the vegetables and sauce to be eaten with it, on a large plate, to be disposed of at leisure and not be required to take charge of half a dozen plates, one of fowl and potatoes, one of oysters, one of cranberry, one of cabbage, one of tomato, &c., &c., and so on according to our St. Cloud company programme.'' Editorial correspondence from St. Paul, in the *St. Cloud Democrat*, February 6, 1862.

she could utilize it; great reputations were as nothing in comparison to her first-hand impressions.

From along in 1863 to the end of the war nursing kept her busy, but when the war was ended something must be found to do. Again Secretary Stanton assisted her by giving her a position as a clerk in his department. What she saw and experienced produced many letters, of which some, particularly those on the question of women in industry, appeared in the *New York Tribune*. Washington, she opined, was the worst place in the country to give this comparative innovation a fair trial; there was no test of fitness before appointment; the male employees were unable to realize that women were trying to earn a living and thought that they must all be treated as "ladies" in a drawing-room. Some women would work and some would not; too many were in the latter category, so that Secretary Harlan solved the problem by turning them all out, neither a just nor a manly way of deciding the issue, according to Mrs. Swisshelm.

The issues raised by reconstruction were naturally a subject of close attention for this woman who had been fighting the southerner and slavery all her days. It was not in her that a prostrate people would find a defender, hence the attempts of President Johnson to put brakes on a radical congress brought down upon his devoted head the invective which she felt was deserved. Since there was no paper ready to be a medium for her own ideas — certainly not for all of them — there was nothing to do but start another, and so the *Reconstructionist* was born. While the utterances of its editor no doubt found a responsive echo in the breast of Thaddeus Stevens, the short-tempered man in the White House was not the sort to brook such emanations from a mere clerk in one of his executive departments, and so he took the emphatic but unfortunate course of dismissing her incontinently, discharging her directly without taking the trouble of having Stanton do it for him. Yet one finds it hard to censure his course after reading the article which provoked it:

When President Lincoln was murdered nearly all loyal people believed that the South had made a serious mistake. A very few thought otherwise. Of these, two said to us: "You are mistaken. They know what they are about. Andy Johnson is their tool."

The thought was too horrible to be entertained. It was too dreadful to believe that the man who had just received such marks of confidence from the loyal millions was simply a skillful actor playing patriot the better to serve the cause of treason. But these shrewd prophets shook their heads and said:

"You will see."

One thing was certain. The morning of the inauguration he was drinking freely with blatant Copperheads. . . .

The business was to get the President, and they got him. That it was the South which nominated him through indirect influence — that Mr. Johnson labored cunningly for that nomination by boisterous professions of loyalty, and the thrusting forward of ultra pledges designed to be broken, there is no longer any doubt. That he was prepared beforehand to serve the purposes of treason there can be no doubt; that his administration and its programme were part and parcel of the assassination plot, we have no longer the shadow of a doubt.

This does not make it necessary that he should have known of the intended assassination. We do not think that either Tyler or Fillmore knew that the men who used them intended murdering Harrison and Taylor; but in all these cases the assassins knew their men; and these three Presidents, made Presidents by assassination, are each, with their administrations, as much incidents of the rebellion — emanations from the brain of the arch-fiends and wholesale murderers who plotted that rebellion, as was the starvation of our men at Andersonville, or the poisoning of our armies. Whether known or unknown to Mr. Johnson, his veto message is the further unfolding of the assassination plot.

That assassination was a change of base in the traitor war for the destruction of the Union. The veto is the Sumter guns of this second era of the war, and it will probably be followed by a Bull Run and Ball's Bluff — by disaster and perhaps apparent defeat to the loyal millions whose weapons are once more turned upon them by their trusted agents. Andrew Johnson has his plans matured. He is in full sympathy with the South, and will follow up his present advantage to the bitter end. Let the people nerve themselves to do what they can. They can and will save the government; but there is great danger of a repetition of the mistakes and delays and dreadful disasters of the first stage of this war. There is great danger of a kid-glove campaign under some political McClellan.

Could the people be made to feel that the assassins of President Lincoln are now the honored guests of the White House — that this veto is a part of the murderous programme — Northern Copperheads would not insult a loyal people by their insolent

rejoicings, and the traitors of the South would stand aghast before their indignation.[14]

With no clerkship there could be no *Reconstructionist*, and that rocket burned itself out forthwith. Nevertheless, it had scattered its sparks, which flickered out in comments of the editorial variety all over the country.

Worn in body and in mind, Mrs. Swisshelm left Washington for Pittsburgh, where a long lawsuit brought her the old farm at Swissvale and eventually a competence which lasted the rest of her days. St. Cloud, Chicago, and Swissvale, as well as the trains of the Pennsylvania railroad running into Pittsburgh, were favored with her presence during these latter years. While in Chicago, she passed much of her time with the widow of President Lincoln, for the two women seem to have had much in common. These final nineteen years of her life were marked by no extraordinary public activity unless one so reckons an occasional contribution to the *Chicago Tribune*; apparently her life work was done. Her constructive—or was it destructive?—task was completed. Visiting her daughter in Chicago, gossiping with Mrs. Lincoln, or merely sitting quietly at the door of the old house at Swissvale watching the trains go by and gazing at the trees she had planted in earlier years, filled her hours with ample employment, although toward the end of her days she wrote, from memory—for she had destroyed all letters and other documents for fear they would be used for evil purposes—an account of her life down to the closing days of the war. A surcease of labor filled her with a calm content, so that the white-haired woman who made friends with the brakeman of the Pittsburgh local no longer strove to remodel the world. Her day was past. New problems no longer drove her into the noisy conflict of a world trying to forget the war and its causes. The slavery she knew was no more; the south might struggle on, undisturbed by her, toward the dawn of a brighter life.

Lester Burrell Shippee

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

[14] From the *Reconstructionist*, quoted in the *St. Paul Pioneer*, March 6, 1866.

THE FIRST PUSH WESTWARD OF THE ALBANY TRADERS[1]

"I must say that the English in these Colonies are too careless and lazy: The French coureurs de bois, are much readier for Enterprises, and the Canadese are certainly more vigilant and more active."[2] Thus Lahontan contrasted the Indian traders of the rival nations. As far as spectacular achievement in discovery and exploration is concerned, his estimate of the French Canadians is sound enough, but other considerations may give a different balance. In crafty diplomacy, in a sense for economic gain, in laying a foundation for a cautious western extension of the fur trade, the Albany traders proved themselves neither careless nor lazy. By 1694 these supposedly apathetic men had penetrated to Mackinac and to the Wabash, had smoked the calumet and had bartered powder and rum for beaver with the Ottawa, the Miami, and the western Shawnee.

Cut off from the west by no physical barriers, with the advantages of the Mohawk river route, all roads from Albany led into the west, and all roads from the west led to Albany. But all these roads passed through the Iroquois Indian country. On this geographical fact was based an important economic and political alignment. The Iroquois confederacy consisted of five tribes of Indians: the Mohawk, occupying the valley of the Mohawk river from the vicinity of Schenectady to the site of Utica; the Oneida, about forty-five miles west of the Mohawk; the Onondaga, extending northward to Lake Ontario and southward to the Susquehanna; the Cayuga, situated on the shores of Cayuga lake; and the Seneca, located south of Lake Ontario, ex-

[1] This paper was prepared under the supervision of Mr. C. W. Alvord, to whom the writer is greatly indebted for valuable advice.

[2] Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, *New voyages to North-America. Containing an account of the several nations of that vast continent . . . the several attempts of the English and French to dispossess one another . . . and the various adventures between the French, and the Iroquese confederates of England, from 1683-1694. . .* (London, 1703), 1: 274.

tending west to the Lake Erie shore. These five nations lay athwart the route of the Albany trader to the western Indians. Of this fact the Iroquois made capital by assuming the rôle of middleman between Albany and the "far Indians," a part impossible to play with the French, who could avoid them by using the Ottawa river route.

Sharp is the contrast between British and French trading methods. The British preferred to establish trading posts to which they persuaded the Indians to come. The French, on the other hand, far from remaining tamely within the limits of some fort or settlement, followed the Indians to their hunting grounds and obtained their furs fresh from the slaughter. The middleman's rôle was also made easier for the Iroquois because British goods were cheaper than the French. At Albany, for eight pounds of powder the Indian paid one beaver; at Montreal, he paid four beavers.[3] At Albany, for a gun he paid two beavers, as compared with five beavers at Montreal. The British gave six quarts of rum for one beaver; the French had no fixed rate but never gave as much as a quart of liquor for a beaver.

Not only was the Iroquois confederacy a barrier between the Albany traders and the western Indians; it was, in the words of Governor Dongan, "a bulwark between us and the French."[4] Hence on the basis of mutual policy was formed the Anglo-Iroquoian alliance, formally inaugurated on September 24, 1664, with an agreement at Albany between representatives of the Five nations and Colonel George Cartwright.[5] This agreement was not an innovation in the relations between the Iroquois and Europeans, but was, along with the policy of giving the Albany council complete control of Indian affairs and trade for the colony, a legacy from the Dutch, who about 1643 had made a similar compact with part of the Iroquois.

The evidence of a western push on the part of the Albany traders during the Dutch régime is scant. In December, 1634, an Albanian of uncertain identity, accompanied by Jeronimus de la Croix and William Tomassen, made a journey up the valley of the Mohawk to the villages of the Oneida because "trade

[3] *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York,* edited by Edmund B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1853-1887), 9: 408.

[4] *Ibid.,* 3: 393.

[5] *Ibid.,* 3: 148.

was doing very badly."[6] The Dutch at Albany also had trading relations with some tribes of western Indians; at least in 1687 Governor Dongan made the statement that the Ottawa had traded at Albany ever since its establishment.[7] Similarly the evidence of a western movement by the Albany traders during the first years of the British régime — from 1664 to 1678 — is of the filmiest. In 1672 Governor Frontenac erected near the northeast shore of Lake Ontario the fort which bears his name. To offset any advantages in trade that the French might secure by this move, the British dispatched agents among the Indians to carry on a propaganda for Albany goods.[8] In August, 1675, Governor Andros went to Albany and had a conference with the "most warrlike Indyans neare a hundred miles beyound Albany which Indyans (and Associates to about four hundred miles further) applyed, declaring their former Allyance, and now submitted in an Extraordinary manner."[9] Two years later Andros sent two "Christians"[10] to the Seneca to request them to send representatives to a conference at Albany.[11] In the same year Wentworth Greenhalgh made a tour of inspection to all the Iroquois villages.[12] Again in the late fall of 1677 Andros dispatched two white interpreters into the west to protest against the raids of the Iroquois and "far Indians" on the southern colonies.[13] These messengers were stalled at Onondaga by the rigor of winter. Such incidents as these, while they reveal an interest in what lay beyond Albany, scarcely show a virile push westward of trading operations.

[6] *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*, edited by J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1909), 139.

[7] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 3: 510.

[8] Cadwallader Colden, *The history of the five Indian nations of Canada which are dependent on the province of New York in America, and are a barrier between the English and the French in that part of the world* (New York, 1904), 1: 20.

[9] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 3: 254.

[10] There is a possibility that these messengers were Christian Indians, but general usage would indicate the contrary; in cases where it was possible to ascertain, the writer has never found the term "Christian" to denote other than Europeans.

[11] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 3: 256.

[12] *Ibid.*, 3: 250.

[13] *Ibid.*, 3: 277.

From 1678 a fuller narrative of the relations between Albany and the Indians is available in the form of Wraxall's *Abridgment of the New York Indian affairs.* The indefatigable Peter Wraxall, commissioned in 1750 as secretary to the Indians for the government of New York and as town clerk of Albany, to show his "Zeal for the Welfare of the British Dominions in North America" and to aid "His Majesty's Administration in proposing & persuing Methods for the Security & Prosperity of the North American Colonies," made a compendium of the transactions between Albany and the Indians from 1678 to 1751. Among the first entries in this work is an account of the embassy of the Seneca to Albany in March, 1678. These envoys in behalf of all the "Indians Westward" renewed the "Treaty of Unity, Peace, & Friendship." In the same year the commandant at Albany sent two interpreters to persuade the Oneida to come to Albany to be assured of British friendship.[14] In response the Oneida sent an embassy to Albany in February, 1679, and acknowledged British sovereignty over the Indians from New York to Lake Erie.[15]

In the meanwhile the French did not regard these activities of the British among the Indians with equanimity. In November, 1679, Governor Frontenac wrote to Versailles that he feared French trade with the Ottawa and other western Indians would be impaired through the operations of the British; that Governor Andros had retained in Albany and "even well treated a man named Peré and others who have been debauched from Sieur de la Salle, with the design to employ and send them among the Ottawas, to open a Trade with them."[16] A short time later Peré returned to the Ottawa, accompanied by "one Turcot, a long time a French refugee among the English."[17] Then several years later, in November, 1683, the French officer, Charles le Moyne, reported to Governor de la Barre that he had

[14] Colden, *History of the five nations,* 1: 25.

[15] Peter Wraxall, *Abridgment of the Indian affairs contained in four folio volumes, transacted in the colony of New York, from the year 1678 to the year 1751,* edited by Charles H. McIlwain (*Harvard historical studies,* volume 21 — New York, 1915), 9.

[16] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 9: 129.

[17] *Ibid.,* 9: 133.

encountered and put to flight two canoes on Lake Erie manned by French deserters "who were disposed to point out and open to the English and Dutch the road to the Outaouas."[18] Obviously the Albany traders were not without guides to the western country; if the Indians were not available, there was always the tempter in the form of the French deserter.

In 1683 a dynamic force was injected into New York Indian affairs in the personality of the new governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan. An era of westward expansion dawned for the Albany Indian trade. An imperialist, Dongan pressed the claims of the British to territory surrounding the Great lakes, gave his official sanction to trading expeditions to the Ottawa and the Hurons, worked on the Iroquois for an open route to the western Indians, and granted to the Albany traders "their great charter of 'liberties,'" which recognized and confirmed their monopolistic control of Indian relations and trade. In a speech on August 5, 1684, Dongan urged the Iroquois to make an offensive and defensive alliance with the Ottawa, the Miami, and "further Indians," and to open a path for them to come to Albany to trade.[19] In the summer of 1684 he sent the arms of the duke of York to be hung up on all the Iroquois castles, Arnout Viele, expert interpreter, being the envoy who raised the arms of the duke at the Onondaga villages.[20] At the same time Viele was instructed to do his utmost to prevent the Five nations from negotiating with De la Barre, who was reported to have preparations under way for an expedition to Lakes Erie and Ontario.

The French regarded with consternation the gradual tightening of the British hold on the Five nations. The placing of the escutcheon of the house of York on the Iroquois castles, coupled with the fact that Dongan assumed himself "sovereign lord of the whole of North America, south of the St. Lawrence" impressed even the pusillanimous Canadian governor as the very acme of insolence. Moreover, the French were aroused by the outrageous conduct of the Seneca, who "in cold blood, pillaged

[18] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 9: 203.

[19] Wraxall, *Abridgment of the Indian affairs* (McIlwain, ed.), 13.

[20] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 9: 242, 247.

seven hundred canoes belonging to Frenchmen . . . and afterwards attacked Ft. St. Louis of the Illinois where Chevalier de Baugy gallantly defended himself.'' To cap the climax, the Five nations presumed to introduce the British traders into waters sacred to the French, the Great lakes.[21] De la Barre protested sharply to Dongan. In a reply of July 14, 1684, Dongan attempted to propitiate the irate Frenchman by declaring that, provided the French were prohibited from trading east of Lake Ontario, he would forbid the British to trade west of it.[22] But developments had gone too far, and De la Barre refused to be put off longer by the glib promises of the New York governor.

So in the fall of 1684 the Canadian governor made his expedition to Lake Erie to treat with the Iroquois, and during the course of the negotiations he reproached one of the sachems for having ''introduced the English to the Lakes, belonging to the King, my Master, and into the Country of those Nations to whom my Master is a Father.''[23] In replying the Indians admitted having ''conducted the English to our Lakes, in order to traffick with the Outaouas and the Hurons.''[24] So it is evident that in addition to their trading activities among the Iroquois and their efforts to cement more firmly the alliance with the Iroquois by sending envoys even to their farthest nation near the Lake Erie shore, namely the Seneca, the British actually traded on Lake Erie prior to 1685.

Dongan did not hesitate to follow up with official action these western operations of free-lance traders. ''Acting rather the part of a trader than a governor,'' to quote a disparaging remark of a French official, in the fall of 1685 he licensed Captain Johannes Rooseboom to make a trading expedition to the western Indians. Guided by the French deserter, Abel Merrion, with ten canoes loaded with merchandise, Rooseboom's party coasted along Lake Ontario, made the grand portage to Lake Erie, and thence paddled into Lake Huron. The Ottawa and the Hurons received the British bargains with open arms, invited their purveyors to return every year, and expressed a

[21] Colden, *History of the five Indian nations*, 1: 54.

[22] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 3: 448.

[23] Lahontan, *New voyages to North-America*, 1: 78.

[24] *Ibid.*, 1: 81.

desire that their enemies, the Seneca, open a path for them to come to Albany to trade.[25]

The French were electrified by the news of this venture. Governor Denonville wrote to the French ministry in October, 1686: "Missilimakinak is theirs. They have taken its latitude, have been to trade there with our Outawa and Huron Indians, who received them cordially on account of the bargains they gave. . . . Unfortunately we had but very few Frenchmen at Missilimakinak at that time. M. de la Durantaye on arriving there wanted to pursue the English to pillage them. The Hurons were hastening to escort them after having expressed a great many impertinences against us. Sieur de la Durantaye did not overtake the English who met the Senecas on their way to join and escort them through Lakes Erie and Ontario, until they should be beyond all danger of an attack from us."[26] Of course the French protested to Governor Dongan. In a letter of October 1, 1686, Denonville accused him of instructing Arnout Viele, the emissary dispatched to the Onondaga in the summer of 1685, to urge the Five nations to make war on the French, and added, "you are not a stranger to the enterprise of your merchants against Michilimaquina."[27] To this indictment Dongan made the naïve reply, "I am altogether as ignorant of any enterprise made by the Indians out of this Government, as I am by what you meane by 'mihillmiqum.'"[28]

Emboldened by the success of 1685, the next year Dongan sent out a more ambitious trading venture. An expedition, divided into two companies, was fitted out. The first division, with a personnel of fifty and with twenty canoes, freighted principally with rum, commanded by Captain Rooseboom, left Albany on September 11, 1686. The party proceeded westward and established winter quarters with the Seneca, with the intention of going to Mackinac in the spring.[29] The other division, commanded by Major Patrick Macgregory, who had particular orders

[25] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 3: 476.

[26] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 9: 297.

[27] *Ibid.*, 3: 461.

[28] *Ibid.*, 3: 463.

[29] *Ibid.*, 9: 308.

from Dongan not to "meddle with the French," was to follow the trail of Rooseboom, but was not to leave Albany until the spring of 1687.[30] The French, if alarmed by the venture of 1685, were now thoroughly aroused. On November 16, 1686, Denonville wrote to the French ministry: "If the English continue their expeditions in this manner, and the king is unwilling that war be waged against them, nothing is to be expected for this Colony but its ruin."[31] In the same letter he stated further that "the English Governor prompted by the cupidity of his merchants and by his own avarice to drag largesses from them, claims the whole country as his," and that "the war begun and badly carried on by M. de la Barre has been the cause of all our misfortunes; it has reunited the Iroquois to the English who adopt the true means of destroying this Colony by depriving it of its allies and commerce."

It was under such apprehensions as these that Denonville planned an expedition to Lake Erie to crush the Iroquois once for all, and ordered the French officers in command of western posts, Durantaye, Dulhut, Tonti, and La Forest, to proceed with their respective forces to a common rendezvous at Niagara. In execution of these orders, in the spring of 1687 Durantaye proceeded eastward and on Lake Huron encountered and captured Rooseboom's party. With his prisoners the Frenchman went south, and below Fort St. Joseph was joined by Dulhut, Tonti, and La Forest. Here, in the words of Tonti, "we made more canoes and coasted along Lake Erie to Niagara, where we made a fort below the portage to wait there for news. On our way we took thirty more Englishmen, who were going to Michilimackinak, commanded by Major Gregoire."[32]

The troubles of the French did not end with the capture of the British. For the chief stock in trade of the Albany traders was rum, which the French did not want the Indians to drink. They were especially anxious that the Potawatomi, who "had no knowledge of the English or that bewitching liquor," should not indulge.[33] At the same time the Indians who had been taken

[30] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 9: 308, 318.

[31] *Ibid.*, 9: 309.

[32] *Early narratives of the northwest, 1634-1619*, edited by Louise P. Kellogg (*Original narratives of early American history* — New York, 1917), 309.

[33] Colden, *History of the five Indian nations*, 1: 76.

prisoners with the British conspired with some malcontents of Tonti's party in a futile attempt to persuade all the Indians to mutiny. The conspirators urged that the French were cheats who charged exorbitant prices for their goods, while the British, good-natured and honest, sold goods at reasonable rates. The British prisoners were conveyed first to Fort Frontenac, thence to Montreal, and finally to Quebec, where, after enduring four months' imprisonment, they were released.

Despite their frustration of this attempt of the British to trade at Mackinac, the French were in despair over the westward extension of British influence and trade. They saw in such a movement the ultimate defection or annihilation of their Indian allies by the powerful Iroquois, encouraged with fine promises and, what was more tangible, supplied with guns and ammunition by the British. The tottering state of French empire in America, because of the encroachments of the British through the medium of the Five nations, is set forth in a memoir on the state of Canada, prepared in 1687 for the perusal of the French ministry. To begin with, according to this memoir, the British used the Iroquois to incite other Indians against the French: in 1686 the Iroquois made a surprise attack on the Hurons and the Ottawa, took more than seventy-five prisoners, and promised peace and restitution of the prisoners on condition that these Indians would renounce the French and acknowledge the overlordship of Britain.[34] Furthermore, the report accuses the Albany traders of deliberately drawing away the western Indians from the French by means of their prices for goods, fifty per cent lower than those of the French. Besides seducing the French Indians, British bargains attracted "all our Coureurs de bois and French libertines who carry their peltries to them, deserting our Colony, and establishing themselves among the English who take great pains to encourage them." Finally, the report concludes that war on the Iroquois is "necessary to avert from us a general Indian Rebellion which would bring down ruin on our trade and cause eventually even the extirpation of our Colony."

In fact, so undermined was French power in the west that Dongan in September, 1687, could say with truth, "and as to

[34] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 9: 319.

their [*the Iroquois'*] Warring with the farther Indyans that is more hurtfull to us than the French they being inclined to trade with us rather than them which by their Warring is hindered."[35] A further evidence of French weakness was the successful attack which the Iroquois made on the island of Montreal in July, 1688. This exploit induced the Ottawa to make overtures to the all-powerful British. For "they sent openly four Sachems . . . to assure them that they would forever renounce all Friendship with the French. They also included seven Nations that lived near Missilimakinak in this Peace."[36]

The upshot was that in the fall of 1688 Denonville, perceiving the impossibility of smashing the Anglo-Iroquoian alliance, was ready to acknowledge British suzerainty over the Iroquois and their lands provided that the British would curtail the hostile activities of the Iroquois in the west.[37] But the feeble efforts of Denonville to relieve the precarious situation of the French availed nothing. And in January, 1689, Callières, governor of the island of Montreal, wrote to the French ministry that the British were planning a trading expedition to Mackinac with a view to capture it and seize all the peltries collected there as a reprisal for the goods taken from the ill-starred Rooseboom-Macgregory venture of 1687.[38] Callières concluded his letter with the pessimistic conjecture that the British were "about to endeavor to invest the entire of Canada and raise all the savages against us, in order to wholly deprive us of every sort of Trade and draw it all to themselves by means of the cheap bargains they can give of goods, at nearly at one-half the price our Frenchmen can afford theirs."

Beginning in 1689 there was a change in tactics. Acrimonious correspondence and surreptitious encouragement of Indian warfare were succeeded by open fighting between the French and the British. William III repudiated the pro-French foreign policy of his Stuart predecessors and boldly declared war on the *grand monarque*. Louis wisely returned the comte de Frontenac as governor of Canada.

[35] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 3: 476.

[36] Colden, *History of the five Indian nations*, 1: 97.

[37] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 9: 394.

[38] *Ibid.*, 9: 403.

Almost immediately there was a halt in the operations of the Albany traders westward and in the triumphs of the Iroquois war bands. Frontenac assumed the offensive, sent out raiding parties to devastate the Iroquois lands, and in 1690 a band of French and Indians swept down the Hudson and burned Schenectady. By Frontenac's energy and genius the wavering western Indians were won back to the French, and French empire in America for the time was saved. In 1690, having shown what the military power of Canada could accomplish, Frontenac sent envoys to the Iroquois with the olive branch; but Captain Leisler, then in control at Albany, having been informed of this action, dispatched Arnout Viele, his Indian interpreter, into the west to prevent such a catastrophe as a Franco-Iroquoian alliance. Viele succeeded so well that the French agents were seized by the Iroquois and all but one were burned at the stake.[39] In the same year the Dawangahoe, a tribe of the Ottawa, influenced by the representations of the Iroquois, sent peace envoys to Albany to agitate for an open trading route through the Iroquois country.[40] Nevertheless, the rejuvenation of the French was having a marked effect upon the extent of the Albany trade; for in 1693, in a report to the board of trade, a prominent colonial official stated that the Indian trade, "which is the only maintenance of the inhabitants of Albany," was "wholly stopt."[41]

The hazards of trade on the Great lakes were now too great for the British. Consequently Albany enterprise sought an outlet in another portion of the west. In 1691-1692 the British established relations with a new tribe of "far Indians," namely the Shawnee, who sent a peace embassy to Albany.[42] The imagination of one Albanian, at least, was fired by this visit; and that was the imagination of Arnout Viele. As Indian interpreter, trader, and explorer, this Dutchman figures prominently in the history of Albany Indian relations. According to a report drawn up in 1696 for the board of trade, Viele, "who has lived a long time with the Indians and frequently converses with them," was the person in the province best qualified to treat

[39] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 4: 214.

[40] *Ibid.*, 3: 778.

[41] *Ibid.*, 4: 53.

[42] *Ibid.*, 4: 51.

with the Indians.[43] And so in the decade 1682-1692 he was employed by the colony of New York in every important Indian transaction. With an eye for the economic rewards of trade, he participated in the Rooseboom venture of 1686-1687 and was taken prisoner with the other members of the company.[44] He was involved in the coup d'état staged by Captain Leisler in 1689, and on the downfall of the Leisler faction lost his position as official interpreter for the province.[45] As a result, in 1692 he was free to make a trading expedition to the Shawnee and to carry Albany goods into a country as yet unexploited by the British traders of the north, the Ohio river valley.

In the autumn of 1692, accompanied by some Delaware and Shawnee Indians, Viele left Albany, went south to New Jersey, then west to the Susquehanna, embarked on that river, thence journeyed to the Allegheny, floated down it to the Ohio, and explored the waters of the Ohio as far west as the Wabash.[46] He traded with and attempted to enlist in the British cause the Miami Indians in the Wabash river basin. He made an extended sojourn in the country of the western Shawnee, who then occupied the territory between the Cumberland and Ohio rivers.

It was not until the early part of 1694 that news of the intrepid Dutchman, who two years before had so gallantly plunged into the unknown west, filtered to the seaboard. When rumors began to float into Albany that Viele had survived the perils of the wilderness path and was on his way east, the whole town and province were agog. Captain Arent Schuyler exploded the first bomb. On his return from a visit to the Minisink Indians of New Jersey in February, 1694, he stated that he had been told that "six days agoe three Christians and two Shanwans Indians who went about fifteen months agoe with Arnout Vielle into the Shanwans Country were passed by the Minnissinck going for Albany to fech powder for Arnout and his Company."[47]

[43] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 4: 170.

[44] *Ibid.*, 3: 431.

[45] *Ibid.*, 4: 198.

[46] Charles A. Hanna, in his *The wilderness trail, or the ventures and adventures of the Pennsylvania traders on the Alleghany path, with some new annals of the old west, and the records of some strong men and some bad ones* (New York, 1911), takes practically this position in regard to the scope of Viele's explorations.

[47] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed.), 4: 98.

A few days later Peter Schuyler, mayor of Albany, reported to Governor Fletcher the arrival in town of a certain Gerrit Luykasse accompanied by "two of ye farr Indians called Showanoes."[48] Luykasse brought news that Viele, loaded with beaver and accompanied by a "considerable number" of Shawnee, expected to reach Albany in the summer. Then, on February 6, Mayor Schuyler told the representatives of the Five nations that "forerunners of the Shawanoes or far Indians" had arrived in town with the report that Viele, accompanied by "seven Nations of Indians" was on his way to Albany.[49] Even the Five nations, drugged into complacency by the excitement of the day, offered no opposition to Viele's operations among their foes, the "far Indians." Certain of their sachems magnanimously informed Governor Fletcher that they did not "take it amiss when the Governor sends to the Dawangahoes about Peace or that Arent the Interpreter went to the far Indians."[50]

True to reports, in the summer of 1694 Viele headed a veritable triumphal procession into Pennsylvania. He had departed escorted by a handful of Delaware and Shawnee Indians; he returned with hundreds in his retinue. A band of Shawnee left their hunting grounds on the Cumberland to follow Viele east to the Delaware river where they established a settlement.

Rumor is hydra-headed. In this case it whispered into hostile ears on the Mississippi as well as into friendly ears on the Hudson. Indeed, reports of Viele's audacious expedition rumbled with a five years' echo in the French west. Scarcely had Viele arrived safely in Albany when Henri de Tonti, on September 11, 1694, wrote to the French government: "We have even been advised that one named Annas (Arias?), of the English nation, accompanied by the Loup savages has had some speech with the Miami in order to draw them to them, which will give them a strong foothold for the success of their enterprise, if he corrupts them."[51] Five years later, in August, 1699, Iberville reported to the French ministry that according to the opinions

[48] *Documents relative to the colonial history of New York* (O'Callaghan, ed., 4: 96.

[49] Wraxall, *Abridgment of the Indian affairs* (McIlwain, ed.), 21.

[50] *Ibid.*, 22.

[51] *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614-1754, mémoires et documents originaux,* edited by Pierre Margry (Paris, 1881), 4: 4.

of all Frenchmen familiar with the Ohio country, "some men, twelve in number, and some Maheingans [*Mohegan*], who are savages whom we call Loups started seven years ago from New York in order to go up the river Andaste [*Susquehanna*] which is in the province of Pennsylvania, as far as the River Ohio which is said to join the Wabash, flowing together into the Mississippi."[52]

Thus the British traders stand acquitted; Lahontan's accusation of carelessness and laziness fades into vacuity when scrutinized in the white light of history. The French Canadians certainly did not have a monopoly upon the art of exploration. The dauntless Virginians—Batts, Fallam, Needham, and Arthur—explored the upper waters of the southern tributaries of the Ohio in 1671-1674. The Carolinians were across the Mississippi in 1700. Not to be outdone by their southern brethren, the Albany traders staged their little drama of westward extension. The rising action began with the appearance of nameless traders on the Great lakes in 1684 and continued for a decade, to reach its climax with Arnout Viele's successful journey to the Cumberland river in 1692 and his triumphant return to Albany two years later.

Helen Broshar

Urbana, Illinois

[52] *Découvertes et établissements des Français* (Margry, ed.), 4: 342.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI NORTHWEST, 1919-1920

The period covered in this survey is the year ending October 1, 1920, and the territory included consists of the ten states which form the northwest portion of the Mississippi valley. The year has not been a propitious one for publication. There has been a decrease in historical output which may be explained in part by the high cost of paper and the difficulties encountered in getting an adequate stock even if the cost can be met. Nevertheless, one new historical periodical has entered the field, and reports of activities show a large body of material collected during the year ready for publication when conditions permit.

PROGRESS AND ACTIVITIES OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Minnesota historical society in its report for 1919 shows an increase in per cent of gifts, in membership, and in library accessions and activities. The most notable advances have been in the use made of library facilities by the public, the number of books supplied at the desk having increased seventy per cent. The library has prepared a list of duplicates for exchange and for sale and is now engaged in the compilation of a catalogue of Minnesota imprints from 1849 to 1880. A number of changes have been made in the staff of the society. Following the resignation of Miss Ruth O. Roberts as curator of the museum, Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., has been appointed to that position and Miss Bertha L. Heilbron has been made editorial assistant in his place. Mr. C. Edward Graves, librarian of the society since 1917, has resigned and his place has been filled by the appointment of Mr. Robert W. G. Vail. Miss Dorothy Heinemann has been succeeded as editorial assistant by Miss Mary E. Wheelhouse, and Miss Ilona B. Schmidt as head cataloguer by Miss Wilhelmina Carothers.

The history hour for children, during which short talks have been given by Mr. Babcock and others on matters of Minnesota

history, has been held frequently during the year. The annual meeting of the society occurred on January 12, 1920, and the address of the occasion was given by Professor Carl Russell Fish, of the University of Wisconsin, on "American democracy." At other open meetings of the society papers were read by Colonel George E. Leach on "The 151st United States field artillery in the world war;" by Lester B. Shippee on "Jane Grey Swisshelm: agitator;" and by Solon J. Buck on "The introspections of a belated puritan."

An article by Mr. Robert W. G. Vail, librarian of the society, on "Attic dust and treasures," which was published in *Library notes and news*, was reissued in mimeographed form by the society and sent out to its members and to others in the state. This has resulted in numerous contributions to the society in the way of books, manuscripts, and other items.

The State historical society of Iowa, located at Iowa City, has made no changes in its staff during the year. As usual, it has directed its energies largely toward research and publication. During the summer of 1920 the list of men — aside from the regular staff — who were carrying on research for the society included the following: Professor H. H. Preston of the University of Washington, who has been preparing a history of banking in Iowa; Professor Louis B. Schmidt of the Iowa state college of agriculture and mechanic arts, who is devoting his attention to the agricultural history of Iowa and the middle west; Mr. Heman Hale Smith of the University of Wisconsin, who is writing a history of the Mormons in Iowa; Professors Jacob Van der Zee, John E. Briggs, and Ivan L. Pollock of the State university of Iowa; Mr. Earl S. Fullbrook of the University of Nebraska; and Mr. Marcus L. Hansen. The increase in membership during the past year has been about fifty per cent, the list of members now including approximately one thousand individuals.

The Historical department at Des Moines has enlarged its staff by the addition of an assistant editor, Mr. David C. Mott having been appointed to that position. This increase was made necessary by the added duties of an editorial nature which fell to the lot of the curator of the department through his membership on the state board of conservation. The department has

been active during the year in promoting the establishment of state parks and in the preservation and marking of spots of historic interest. A recent addition to the department's gallery of portraits of historic personages is an oil painting of Leslie M. Shaw, governor of Iowa, 1898-1902, and secretary of the treasury in President Roosevelt's cabinet.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the State historical society of Missouri took place in Columbia on March 25, 1920. The principal addresses were by Mr. Walter B. Stevens, president of the society, on "Missouri taverns," and by M. Casenave, of the French republic, on "The influence of the valley of the Mississippi on the development of modern France." In the evening a pageant was presented entitled "Missouri, a masque and pageant." The report of the secretary of the society showed a total membership of 1,258, an increase of 214 annual members being noted during the year. The library contains 80,000 titles and a large and valuable newspaper collection numbering more than 10,000 bound volumes. Work was reported as progressing rapidly on the photostatic reproduction of old Missouri newspapers and in the preservation, by silk-process covering, of the file of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boone's Lick Advertiser*, the first country newspaper of Missouri. The society has in press the journal of the 1875 constitutional convention of Missouri, which will appear in two volumes. The secretary calls attention to the fact that between December, 1919, and May, 1920, five of the nine surviving delegates of the convention had died.

The interest aroused throughout the state of Missouri in connection with the celebration of the centennial of statehood has stimulated plans for the organization of several county historical societies. Adair and Clark counties have succeeded in forming societies, and plans for similar action are under way in Macon, southern Jackson, Jasper, Johnson, Livingston, and Nodaway counties.

The Nebraska state historical society held its forty-third annual meeting on January 13, 1920. The program was arranged with the purpose in mind of preserving first-hand information as to Nebraska's part in the world war, and consisted of the following papers: "Demobilization and the return to peace,"

by Governor S. R. McKelvie; "The Nebraska fuel administration," by John L. Kennedy; "The Nebraska national guard," by Colonel P. L. Hall, Jr.; "The Nebraska state council of defense," by R. M. Joyce; "The history of Burt county in the world war," by J. R. Sutherland; and "The Three hundred fifty-fifth regiment," by Captain Earl Cline.

A handbook recently published by the Colorado state historical and natural history society includes a roll of over 250 members, a large percentage of whom have been elected during the past year. Programs for nine meetings of the society for the year 1920-1921 have been arranged and announced. The subject for the meeting of September 28, 1920, was the Long expedition of 1820.

In 1919 the legislature of Wyoming made provision for the establishment of a state historical board consisting of the governor, the secretary of state, and the state librarian, and for the appointment of a state historian. The bill as approved carried with it an appropriation of $5,000 for the biennium 1919-1921, and provided for the transfer of the property formerly belonging to the Wyoming historical society to the custody of the state historian. The latter position was filled by the appointment of Miss Eunice G. Anderson, under whose direction the state has been organized for effective work. In addition to the collection of books, newspapers, and manuscripts, a clipping bureau has been established and a collection of war trophies has been acquired — the Pennewill collection — which includes approximately one thousand items. The state historian has coöperated with the schools of the state in conducting prize essay contests on the subjects "Early days in Wyoming" and "Wyoming's part in the late war." In September, 1920, the state historian organized an "Old timers" day program which was held at Douglas, Wyoming, in connection with the state fair. A number of historical papers were read and 171 early settlers were registered.

WAR HISTORY ACTIVITIES

A great deal of active work has been done in the past year in the collection and publication of war history material. The Minnesota war records commission has added to its collections the state headquarters file of the correspondence and records

for many activities of the Minnesota branch of the council of national defense, important records from the Minnesota branches of the United States employment service, the American Red Cross, the Young women's Christian association, the Jewish welfare board, and the American library association, a complete file of the headquarters records of the St. Paul council of Boy scouts of America for the years 1914-1918, and numerous collections of materials from private sources showing the war activities of Minnesotans. The acquisition of information regarding individual men in the service has been greatly facilitated by combining this work with the distribution of bonuses under act of the Minnesota legislature. The commission has issued *Bulletin* number three in mimeographed form under the title *County war history prospectus and guide to the collection of material.* It consists of a tentative outline together with instructions and suggestions to local investigators. The memory of Minneapolis men who gave their lives in the world war is to be perpetuated by the planting of sixteen hundred elms, one for each man who died in the service, in six rows along a memorial drive between Glenwood park and Camden park.

Among the publications which help tell the story of Minnesotans in the war may be noted: *War service record of Shattuck men*, by Harry E. Whitney, instructor in the Shattuck school at Faribault, Minnesota; *Hamline university in the world war*, by Henry L. Osborne; *Granville: tales and tail spins from a flyer's diary*, compiled from letters and the diary of Granville Gutterson of St. Paul; a pamphlet entitled *A Y. M. C. A. secretary in Italy during wartime*, by Paul J. Thompson; an article on "Logging with the A. E. F.," by Shirley C. Brayton, beginning in the December, 1919, number of *The north woods*, a monthly bulletin of the Minnesota forestry association; and the war histories and honor rolls of a number of the counties of the state.

In the state of Iowa progress has been made by the three state agencies interested in the compilation of war material. The War roster commission is planning to include in its completed roster histories of Iowa units and is coöperating with over-sea officers in this work. The Historical department at Des Moines, specializing on the casualties of Iowa men in the service, has secured photographs of about one thousand of the men who lost their lives. These photographs and accompanying data are be-

ing arranged by counties for exhibition in the department building. The State historical society at Iowa City has issued *The writing of war history in Iowa*, by Marcus L. Hansen, as one of the series of *Iowa and war* pamphlets. The first volume of the series of *Iowa chronicles of the world war* is now in press. It is a book of over three hundred pages by Marcus L. Hansen on *Welfare campaigns in Iowa*. The manuscripts of three other volumes in the series have been completed during the year and a fourth volume is nearing completion. In connection with the preparation of these volumes much manuscript and other war history material has come into the possession of the society.

The production of county war histories has gone on busily in Iowa and although the conventional photographic collection known as an honor roll is the most prevalent type, there is an increasing tendency to make the record more valuable by the addition of more descriptive and factual matter. The Iowa state college has issued *A short record of Iowa state college in the world war*; a *Report of Tama county activities in the women's committee C. N. D.*, by Mrs. Elmer E. Taylor, has appeared in pamphlet form; and much fugitive material is noted in periodicals. The March, 1920, number of *Ivy leaves* — published by the Fourth division — contains an article by Lieutenant Colonel Frank E. Lyman, of the Iowa adjutant general's office, on "Iowa and wars," and the issue for October, 1919, is a "Fort Des Moines number," the division being then stationed at Des Moines. The "Hospitals of the 42nd division" are discussed in the *Journal of the Iowa state medical society* for October, 1919.

The adjutant general of the state of Missouri — under whose auspices a volume has recently been published dealing with *The service of Missouri national guard on the Mexican border* — announces that this is but the first in a series of *Missouri military reports* and that similar publications are being planned with regard to the world war and other conflicts in which Missouri has taken part. The program of the annual meeting of the Nebraska state historical society on January 13, 1920, was given up entirely to the subject of war history. The papers are reproduced for the most part in the issues of *Nebraska history and record of pioneer days.*

South Dakota has issued a bulletin, under the auspices of the

governor and the adjutant general, entitled *Record of service of the 147th field artillery in France.* The history of participation in the war by North Dakota receives much attention in *The quarterly journal of the University of North Dakota.* The number for October, 1919, is given over to twelve articles on phases of this subject. A few titles chosen at random will indicate the scope of the discussion: "North Dakota's contribution of men," "The work of the welfare organizations," "The public schools and the war," "Experiences of a university woman 'over-there.'" The January, 1920, number devotes 142 pages to a "Service list of the University of North Dakota," and the April number contains an article on "The university man in 'Y' war work."

The compilation of war history material has been carried on in Wyoming through committees organized in every county in the state. As a result thirteen thousand war records have been received and filed with the state historian.

Among publications of interest to several states in the northwest may be noted the following: *From Vauquois hill to Exermont,* a history of the Thirty-fifth division, by Claire Kenamore (St. Louis, 1919);[1] *The story of the Rainbow division,* by Raymond S. Tompkins (New York, 1919); *A brief history of the Rainbow division,* by Walter B. Wolf (New York, 1919); *The 88th division in the world war of 1914-1918* (New York, 1919); *338th U. S. field artillery: our book of memories,* by Jerome R. Forbes;[2] and *Victory. History of the 805th pioneer infantry, American expeditionary forces,* by Paul S. Bliss (St. Paul, 1919). The *Northwest warriors magazine,* an illustrated periodical edited by service men and published in Minneapolis, purposes to give a history of the part taken in the war by men of the northwest.

A volume on *The American negro in the world war,* by Emmett J. Scott (Washington, 1919), is of much interest to the section under review because of the training camp for colored officers which was located at Des Moines and the presence of large numbers of colored troops at Camp Dodge in Iowa and at Camp Funston in Kansas during the war.

[1] Reviewed *ante,* 6:593.

[2] To be reviewed later.

PUBLICATIONS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A volume of over seven hundred pages dealing with *Minnesota geographic names, their origin and historic significance*, by Warren Upham, has been issued as volume 17 of the *Minnesota historical collections*.[3] Volume 16 of the *Collections* has been printed in part for some time but is not yet ready for distribution. The *Minnesota history bulletin*, published by the society, contains the following articles in the issues for November, 1919, and for February and May, 1920: "Benjamin Densmore's journal of an expedition on the frontier," dealing with a trip to Otter lake in 1857; "American democracy," by Carl Russell Fish; "The last Indian uprising in the United States," by Louis H. Roddis; and "Recruiting engineers for the world war in Minnesota," by George W. McCree. In the number for February, 1920, in a section devoted to notes and documents, appears an article on "The Goodhue press," the press on which was printed the *Dubuque Visitor*—the first newspaper in Iowa—and later the *Minnesota Pioneer*, the first newspaper in that state. The issue of the *Bulletin* for August is a "Dedication number," and contains the address on "Middle western pioneer democracy" delivered by Frederick J. Turner at the dedication of the society's building in May, 1918. The general account of the dedication exercises, which follows, includes papers on "Former houses and administration of the Minnesota historical society," by Warren Upham, and "The functions and ideals of the Minnesota historical society," by Solon J. Buck. The society has published a *Handbook* of forty-six pages descriptive of its organization and activities. In the "News and comment" section running in each issue of the *Minnesota history bulletin* are numerous citations of historical items found in Minnesota newspapers. Lists of similar matter for Iowa appear each quarter in *The Iowa journal of history and politics*, and in the *Missouri historical review* for October, 1919, appears a collation of *Historical articles in Missouri newspapers* covering the period from August, 1918, to April, 1919, inclusive. These lists, especially when their contents are indexed, are invaluable in rescuing the ephemeral but often valuable newspaper accounts from oblivion.

[3] To be reviewed later.

The State historical society of Iowa has issued three more numbers in the *Iowa and war* series. These are *The writing of war history in Iowa*, by Marcus L. Hansen; *Fort Des Moines in Iowa history*, by Ruth A. Gallaher;[4] and an *Index* to the preceding twenty-three numbers. With this index number the series is closed and the society has turned its attention to the production of a series of larger volumes under the title *Iowa chronicles of the world war*, the first volume of which is now in press. In the *Iowa journal of history and politics* for the year there have appeared the following articles: "The legislation of the thirty-eighth general assembly of Iowa," by John E. Briggs and Cyril B. Upham; two articles continuing the "Historical survey of the militia in Iowa" for the periods 1865-1898 and 1898-1916, by Cyril B. Upham; "Special municipal charters in Iowa, 1836-1858," by George F. Robeson; "Northwestern Iowa in 1855," by J. L. Ingalsbe; "Some episodes in the history of the founding of the medical college of the State university of Iowa," by John P. Irish; "General Lew. Wallace at Shiloh: how he was convinced of an error after forty years," by Joseph W. Rich; "The soldier vote in Iowa in the election of 1888," by Donald L. McMurry; "Some materials for the study of Iowa archaeology," by Charles R. Keyes; and three articles by Louis B. Schmidt on agricultural history—"The internal grain trade of the United States, 1850-1860," "Some significant aspects of the agrarian revolution in the United States," and "The westward movement of the wheat growing industry in the United States."

In addition to the *Iowa journal of history and politics*, which is now in its eighteenth year, the State historical society of Iowa has begun the publication of a monthly historical magazine the purpose of which is to present articles and narratives which will be shorter and less technical than those appearing in the quarterly publication. It bears the title *The palimpsest*, a name suggested by the palimpsests of early times—parchments from which one writing had been erased to make room for another. The magazine is edited by John C. Parish, associate editor of the society, and began publication in July, 1920. The three numbers so far issued include the following articles: "The vision," by Benjamin F. Shambaugh; "Palimpsests," by John C. Parish;

[4] To be reviewed later.

"White beans for hanging," by John C. Parish; "Newspaper history," by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh; "An old-time editorial dialogue," by John C. Parish; "Three men and a press," by John C. Parish; "A romance of the forties," by William S. Johnson; "Benjamin Stone Roberts," by Ruth A. Gallaher; and "The trial and execution of Patrick O'Conner," by Eliphalet Price.

The Historical department of Iowa, located at Des Moines, has resumed the publication of its quarterly journal, *The annals of Iowa*, which was suspended during the war. The resumption begins with the April, 1920, issue, which contains "Major William Williams' journal of a trip to Iowa in 1849," and an article by J. W. Cheney on "Rev. Daniel Lane and his Keosauqua academy." In the editorial department appears a statement of the "Accomplishment of the state board of conservation to April, 1920."

The State historical society of Missouri, located at Columbia, has issued three numbers of the *Missouri historical review* during the year, the third being a double number for April-July, 1920. These issues contain two new continued articles—"The followers of Duden," by William G. Bek, dealing with early German immigration into Missouri; and "Shelby's expedition to Mexico: an unwritten leaf of the war," which is a reprint of John N. Edwards' graphic description of an expedition at the close of the civil war. The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles of "Early days on Grand river and the Mormon war," by Rollin J. Britton, bring this serial to its conclusion. Other articles in the *Review* are as follows: "Missourians in service," by Harvey C. Clark; "Major Benjamin Holiday," by Anna Lee Brosius Korn; "One hundred years of medicine in Missouri," by H. W. Loeb; "Inefficiency of water transportation in Missouri," by Sam T. Bratton; "Little bonne femme church," by E. W. Stephens; "The Osage war," by Robert A. Glenn; "Missourians abroad—Leigh C. Palmer," by J. Willard Ridings; "Early exploration and settlement of Missouri and Arkansas," by Cardinal L. Goodwin; "Major Emory S. Foster," by George S. Grover; and "Recollections of Thomas H. Benton," by John A. Oliphant. The number for April-July, 1920, also contains a symposium of articles by Missouri women covering various phases

of the "History of the woman suffrage movement in Missouri." This group of articles is edited by Miss Mary Semple Scott.

Two numbers of *Nebraska history and record of pioneer days* have been issued by the Nebraska state historical society during the year. The number for July-September, 1919, is largely taken up with material on the Fort Atkinson centennial celebration held at the site of the fort north of Omaha on October 11, 1920. The main article is one by Albert Watkins on "Why Fort Atkinson was established." The number for October-December, 1919, contains among other items the following articles: "Three military heroes of Nebraska," by Albert Watkins; "D. Charles Bristol (Omaha Charley)," by E. E. Blackman; "The Nebraska fuel administration," by John L. Kennedy; "Burt county in the world war," by J. R. Sutherland; and a list of "Builders of early Nebraska" with biographical data.

The Colorado state historical and natural history society has issued a small pamphlet giving the names of its members and announcing the programs for nine meetings of the society for the year 1920-1921. The state historian of Wyoming has published a small folder describing the work and accomplishments of the Historical department of that state. In the remaining states of the group there has been apparently no publication by organized historical societies.

Much material dealing with the history of the trans-Mississippi northwest has found an outlet in the *Wisconsin magazine of history*. The block of chiseled stone discovered in Minnesota in 1898 and known as the Kensington rune stone has come in for a renaissance of discussion in the above-mentioned magazine. The December, 1919, number contains an article by H. R. Holand entitled "The Kensington rune stone. Is it the oldest native document of American history?" Mr. Holand believes the text authentic and suggests the expedition of Paul Knutson in the latter part of the fourteenth century as the one which deposited the relic. "Further discoveries concerning the Kensington rune stone," by the same author, appears in the number for March, 1920. In the June number is a communication from Father Chrysostom Verwyst, O. F. M., discussing one phase of Mr. Holand's contention, and in the same number is an article by Rasmus B. Anderson entitled "Another view of the Kensington rune stone." Mr. Anderson scouts the authenticity of the relic,

and suggests the identity of the perpetrators of the fraud. Of interest also to readers of trans-Mississippi history are two articles in the March, 1920, number of the *Wisconsin magazine of history*: "The early history of Jonathan Carver," by William Browning, and "An experiment of the fathers in state socialism," by Milo M. Quaife, dealing with the subject of the Indian trading houses.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review contains the following articles which may be noted as of especial interest to the states northwest of the Mississippi: "Jonathan Carver and the Carver land grant," by Milo M. Quaife, and "Transportation and traffic on the Ohio and Mississippi before the steam-boat," by W. W. Carson, in the number for June, 1920; and "Steamboating on the upper Mississippi after the civil war: a Mississippi magnate," by Lester B. Shippee, in the March, 1920, number. In the department of "Notes and documents" for March, 1920, is a letter written by Edward P. Bridgman from Osawatomie, Kansas, in May, 1856, contributed with an introduction by Milo M. Quaife; also a letter written by the governor of New Mexico in 1807 telling of the expedition of James Clamorgan from St. Louis to Santa Fe in that year. This letter is given in Spanish with an English translation and an introduction by Joseph J. Hill.

An article on "The miners' laws of Colorado," by Thomas M. Marshal, appears in the *American historical review* for April, 1920, and in the department of "Notes and suggestions" in the July, 1920, number of the same journal is an article by Clarence W. Alvord presenting and commenting upon "An unrecognized Father Marquette letter." This letter, written while Marquette and Jolliet were ascending the Mississippi in August, 1673, is an interesting addition to the bibliography of the expedition.

OTHER HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

A number of volumes in the *Chronicles of America* series have appeared during the past year. The following are of especial interest to the people of the region covered by this review: *The agrarian crusade, a chronicle of the farmer in politics*, by Solon J. Buck;[5] *The railroad builders, a chronicle of*

[5] To be reviewed later.

the welding of the states, by John Moody;[6] *The paths of inland commerce, a chronicle of trail, road, and waterway*, by Archer B. Hulbert;[7] *Adventurers of Oregon, a chronicle of the fur trade*, by Constance L. Skinner;[8] and *Our foreigners, a chronicle of Americans in the making*, by Samuel P. Orth.[9]

Books dealing with aspects of Indian life include Miss Annie Heloise Abel's *The American Indian as participant in the civil war* (Cleveland, 1919);[10] *The blanket Indian of the northwest*, by G. O. Shields (New York); *Ojibway texts*, collected by William Jones and edited by Truman Michelson (volume 7, part 2, of the *Publications of the American ethnological society*); part one of a *Handbook of aboriginal American antiquities*, by W. H. Holmes, issued as *Bulletin* number 60 of the Bureau of American ethnology;[11] and *The autobiography of a Winnebago Indian*, edited by Paul Radin (*University of California publications in American archaeology and ethnology*).[12] Periodical literature on the same subject includes: "The use of plants by the Indians of the Missouri river region," by Melvin R. Gilmore, in the *Thirty-third annual report of the Bureau of American ethnology*;[13] "The rhythm of Sioux and Chippewa music," by Frances Densmore, in the February, 1920, number of *Art and archaeology*; and "The Indian and the horse," by Clark Wissler, in the *American Indian magazine* for August, 1920. The *Journal of the Washington academy of sciences* for October 4 and 19, 1919, contains "Some general notes on the Fox Indians," by Truman Michelson, and in the issue for November 19, a bibliography on the Fox Indians by the same author. *The Wisconsin archeologist* for April, 1920, consists of a monograph of over one hundred pages on "The Potawatomi" in the upper Mississippi valley and the region of the Great lakes, by Publius V. Lawson.

Among recent volumes dealing in whole or in part with the country northwest of the Mississippi are the following: *Quaint*

[6] Reviewed *ante*, 7:158.
[7] Reviewed *ante*, 7:153.
[8] Reviewed *ante*, 7:171.
[9] Reviewed *ante*, 7:174.
[10] Reviewed *ante*, 6:578.
[11] Reviewed *ante*, 7:59.
[12] To be reviewed later.
[13] Reviewed *ante*, 7:177.

and historic forts of North America, by John Martin Hammond; *Ten years on the Iowa frontier*, by William H. Ingham; *Topical studies and references on the economic history of American agriculture*, by Louis B. Schmidt (Philadelphia, 1919); *Portland Prairie in present times*, by H. V. Arnold, dealing with a small section in southern Minnesota and northern Iowa (Larimore, North Dakota, 1919); *When Blue Earth county* [Minnesota] *was young*, by George W. Allyn (Madison Lake, Minnesota, 1919); *The Mormon battalion: its history and achievements*, by Brigham H. Roberts (Salt Lake City); *Building the Union Pacific railway*, by Edwin L. Sabin (Philadelphia, 1919);[14] *The constitutional history of the Louisiana purchase, 1803-1812*, by Everett S. Brown (*University of California publications in history*, volume 10);[15] *The North West company*, by Gordon C. Davidson (*University of California publications in history*, volume 7);[16] *The Bozeman trail*, by Grace R. Hebard, dealing with overland routes into the northwest; *The splendid wayfaring*, by John G. Neihardt, telling of the adventures of Jedediah Smith and his companions in their western explorations; and *The story of a Minnesotan*, by Loren Warren Collins (Minneapolis, 1919), the last-mentioned book being an autobiography of a former associate justice of the Minnesota supreme court.

A monograph presented by Madame Adrien Loir as a thesis at the University of Caen bears the title *Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, artiste et savant François en Amérique de 1816 à 1839*. It deals with the French artist whose drawings, made during his travels in the Mississippi valley in the early nineteenth century, present a valuable portrayal of conditions of that time. A collection of sixteen hundred of these drawings is deposited at the museum of natural history at Havre, France, and about forty of these are reproduced in the monograph of Madame Loir.

The north star, a monthly magazine published in Minneapolis, printed in February and March, 1920, articles by Theodore C. Blegen about "The America letters" written by pioneer immigrants from Norway to friends in the old country. In the issue

[14] Reviewed *ante*, 7:81.

[15] To be reviewed later.

[16] Reviewed *ante*, 6:411.

for January, 1920, appears an article by Rasmus B. Saby on "The non-partisan league in North Dakota: the story of America's most remarkable farmers' political movement." In the *Survey* for March 6, 1920, Edward T. Devine writes upon "North Dakota—the laboratory of the non-partisan league." In the *Journal of negro history* for April, 1920, is a study of "The development of the negro public school system in Missouri," by Henry S. Williams.

Much historical material finds publication in the *Saturday evening post* of Burlington, Iowa. An instance is the serial account of "Steamboats and steamboatmen of the upper Mississippi: descriptive, personal and historical," written largely by the veteran river historian, George B. Merrick, and finished by Fred A. Bill. This continuation extended over several years and was concluded in December, 1919. "General Zebulon M. Pike, Somerset born" is an article by William J. Backes in the October, 1919, number of the *Somerset county* [New Jersey] *historical quarterly.* The writer contends that Pike was born in Lamberton, now Lamington, in Somerset county, and not in the Lamberton which is now part of the city of Trenton. "Who was the Chevalier de la Verendrye?" is the title of an article by A. H. de Trémaudan in *The Canadian historical review* for September, 1920.

In the series of "State builders of the west" in the *Western magazine* are biographical sketches of "Andrew Ryan McGill, tenth governor of Minnesota," "William Rush Merriam, eleventh governor of Minnesota," "Knute Nelson, twelfth governor of Minnesota and U. S. senator," and "David Marston Clough, thirteenth governor of Minnesota." A small pamphlet entitled *Iowa and Iowa history* contains an address delivered by Cyrenus Cole before the Iowa society of New York on March 6, 1920. Two books dealing with Wyoming history are *Personal recollections of pioneer life on the mountains and plains of the great west,* by Luke Voorhees, and *Missionary district of Wyoming: record of conditions January 1, 1920,* by Bishop Thomas.

ACQUISITION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

An interesting and valuable item of source material which has come to light within the past year is a missing volume of the

Taliaferro journals, covering the years from 1827 to 1829. The volume was recently acquired by Mr. Edson Gaylord of Minneapolis and is being copied for the Minnesota historical society, which will ultimately become custodian of the original. This will fill an important gap in the files which the society at present possesses of the journals of the well-known Fort Snelling Indian agent. The society has acquired by transfer from the office of the secretary of state, under the provisions of an act of 1919 authorizing it to act as custodian of state and local archives, the original journals of the legislature, the legislative bills, and a large number of miscellaneous papers, all for the period from 1849 to 1880. Among the latter were found the original certified returns of the first census of Minnesota territory, taken in 1849. Among other acquisitions of the Minnesota historical society are papers of the late Captain Henry A. Castle of St. Paul, of General William G. le Duc, of Governor Henry A. Swift, and of Governor Andrew R. McGill; the papers of the Reverend Moses W. Adams, Indian agent and missionary to the Sioux; a collection of letters of the Reverend Richard Hall, pioneer missionary of the Congregational church in Minnesota; the papers and records of the first Presbyterian church of St. Paul for the years from 1872 to 1874; the civil war diary and letters of Lieutenant Samuel Bloomer of Stillwater; the records of the Minnesota woman suffrage association; some letters of Edwin Whitefield, an eastern artist who traveled in Minnesota in 1856; a copy of a very rare pamphlet entitled *Wanderings in Minnesota during the Indian troubles of 1862*, by Thomas Scantlebury, together with the original manuscript; a blue-print copy of a manuscript map drawn in 1864 showing the route traveled by the Sully expedition from Fort Ridgely to the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers in that year; a group of pictures, newspaper clippings, and a few manuscripts relating to the old Crow Wing settlement and the Beaulieu family; a collection of 443 pamphlets dealing with legal and financial affairs of the Union Pacific and other railroads; and a file of *Emigranten*, a Norwegian newspaper published at Madison, Wisconsin, and containing much valuable information on the northwest. This file contains the issues for June to December, 1857, and for all of 1859, 1862, 1864, and 1865. The society has secured a typewritten copy of the "Rem-

iniscences of the early Oberlin missionaries and their work in northwestern Minnesota as dictated . . . by Rev. S. G. Wright, missionary, 1890." The writer of this document was a missionary to the Chippewa at Red lake from 1843 to 1859 and was later employed by the government in work among these Indians. The records and collections of the Historical society of the Minnesota annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, which was in existence from 1857 to 1895, have been transferred from Hamline university to the Minnesota historical society.

The State historical society of Iowa has received the journal of J. M. Sullivan, kept during a trip from Wayne county, Iowa, to Baker City, Oregon, in 1850-1851, and also several letters written while Sullivan was in Oregon. It has also recently come into possession of the diary of J. S. Tilford, containing daily entries made during a part of the Black Hawk war. The company of rangers to which Tilford belonged marched across Indiana and Illinois to a camp near Fort Armstrong and later crossed the state of Missouri to Fort Gibson in what is now Oklahoma. Another recent acquisition is the manuscript of an extended account of a trip across the plains in 1857 from Freeport, Illinois, by William Clark. The society has received from Washington a large number of manuscript volumes containing the original reports for the state of Iowa upon which the compilations of the national census were made. A large body of correspondence, reports, pamphlets, and posters connected with war history activities has also been received by the society.

The Missouri historical society, located at St. Louis, has acquired a collection of material relating to the war of 1812 in Missouri, some letters of James Callaway, and documents signed by Daniel Boone and his sons. The State historical society of Missouri, at Columbia, has been given the custody of correspondence files of the Missouri council of defense. From Mrs. D. V. Bogie of Richmond, Missouri, the society has received twelve bound volumes of Missouri newspapers formerly edited by her husband. They cover the periods 1870-1873 and 1879-1888, and include newspapers from the towns of Huntsville, Keytesville, Carthage, and Richmond. The Nebraska state historical society recently received a copy of a poster printed in England in 1871 advertising a big buffalo hunt on the prairies

of Nebraska and Colorado. It was issued as part of an advertising program carried out in America and Europe by the Burlington and Missouri river railroad company.

A file of *Freedom's champion* (published at Atchison, Kansas) covering the years 1858-1894, has been made available to the public by being deposited with the State historical society of Wisconsin, as have also the papers of Captain Joe Buisson, an early river steamboat man.

CELEBRATIONS, PAGEANTS, AND THE MARKING OF HISTORIC SITES

The site of the first blockhouse in what is now Minnesota — built by Zebulon M. Pike in October, 1805 — was marked by the Daughters of the American revolution on September 27, 1919. The blockhouse was located about four miles below the present site of Little Falls, Minnesota. On October 7, 1919, the Minnesota territorial pioneers joined with the Pioneer rivermen's association, the St. Croix valley old settlers' association, and other organizations in the celebration, at Taylor's Falls, Minnesota, of the one hundredth birthday of John Daubney, who came to Minnesota in 1845. Daubney is the sole surviving member of the Minnesota old settlers' association, an organization of pioneers who were of age and resident in Minnesota on January 1, 1850. The centennial of the laying of the corner stone of Fort Snelling was observed under the auspices of the Minnesota territorial pioneers by exercises at the fort on Sunday, September 12, 1920, and by a series of meetings during the preceding week in connection with the state fair. A marker for the old Mormon trail near Lewis, Iowa, has been provided by the Daughters of the American revolution and will be put in place when the road grade is established.

Historical celebrations were held in various parts of the state of Missouri in March, 1920, in commemoration of the passage of the Missouri enabling act on March 6, 1820. Historical programs were arranged in the public schools of a number of towns, and an elaborate pageant was presented in Columbia in connection with the annual meeting of the State historical society of Missouri on March 25, 1920. Two state-wide centennials are being planned for the year 1921 — one at Sedalia and one at St. Louis.

The centennial of the founding of Fort Atkinson, on the west

bank of the Missouri, was celebrated under the auspices of the Nebraska state historical society on October 11, 1919, on the historic plateau sixteen miles north of Omaha. The principal address of the occasion was by Albert Watkins on "The historic significance of the celebration." Other addresses presented were: "The Sixth infantry regiment, U. S. army," by Colonel G. L. Townsend; "The founders of Fort Atkinson," by Colonel B. W. Atkinson; "The grand army of the republic and our western frontier," by Captain C. E. Adams; "The pioneers of Nebraska," by Mrs. Philip Potter; "The Sons of the American revolution," by Dr. B. F. Bailey. In the afternoon a pageant was presented under the direction of E. E. Blackman, curator of the State historical society.

At the state convention of Montana pioneers, Mrs. Kate McCormick presented to the Montana state historical society the remaining buildings of old Fort Owen in Missoula county. This fort was built in 1850 and was one of the foremost defenses of its day against the Indians.

John C. Parish

State Historical Society of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Report of Inspection of the Ninth Military Department, 1819

On May 28, 1814, after his successful campaign against the Creeks, Andrew Jackson was offered and accepted the rank of major general in the United States army, a position which carried the command of the Seventh military district, embracing Louisiana and Mississippi territory.[1] When, in the spring of 1815, the army was reorganized on a peace footing with two divisions, Jackson was put in command of the division of the south[2] and retained this position until the spring of 1821, when he was appointed governor of the newly acquired province of Florida.[3]

During much of this period Arthur Perenneau Hayne, the writer of the report herewith printed, was one of Jackson's most intimate friends and trusted lieutenants.[4] Colonel Hayne was an elder brother of Robert Y. Hayne, and a grandnephew of Colonel Isaac Hayne, who was hanged by the British military authorities in the revolution.[5] After four years in business Hayne entered the United States army on May 3, 1808, as first lieutenant of the dragoon regiment commanded by Colonel Wade Hampton. When the war of 1812 opened Hayne was a captain. He served in the operations against Canada, and for his gallant conduct at the battle of Sacket harbor he was promoted to the rank of major and assigned to the First light dragoons in Au-

[1] John S. Bassett, *The life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1911), 1:122-123.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1:231.

[3] James Parton, *The life of Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1866), 2:584-585.

[4] John B. O'Neall, *Biographical sketches of the bench and bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1859), 2:18; Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and his times* (New York, 1909), 40.

[5] Biographical details are given in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical register of the United States army, from its organization, September 29, 1889* (Washington, 1890), 331; *The national cyclopædia of American biography* (New York, 1900), 11:198; *A biographical congressional directory 1774 to 1903: the continental congress: September 5, 1774, to October 21, 1788, inclusive: the United States congress: the first congress to the fifty-seventh congress, March 4, 1789, to March 4, 1903* (Washington, 1903), 587.

gust, 1813. He accompanied General Wilkinson in his unsuccessful operations on the St. Lawrence, soon after which he was attached to the forces under the command of General Jackson, and distinguished himself both in the campaign against the Creeks and in the operations about New Orleans and Pensacola. When reporting the battle of the delta plain Jackson wrote, "Colonel Hayne was everywhere that duty or danger called."[6] On April 12, 1814, Hayne was made colonel and inspector general in recognition of his services. After the battle of New Orleans, General Jackson sent Colonel Hayne with dispatches to Washington, and in the letter of instructions evidenced his appreciation of the merits of his subordinate: "I should do no less injustice to my own feelings than to your merits did I not return you my warmest acknowledgements. Be assured, sir, wherever you go, you carry with you my high sense of your services, my thanks for them, and my prayers for your prosperity."[7]

When the army was reorganized in the spring of 1815 the office of inspector general was abolished; consequently Colonel Hayne was appointed adjutant general in the northern division and was given a furlough for the purpose of pursuing his legal studies, on the completion of which he was admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania. In May, 1816, Hayne again became inspector general attached to the division of the south, where he served until his resignation from the army in September, 1820.

Upon reëntering civil life Colonel Hayne returned to South Carolina, where he practiced law and participated in the local political life; for several terms he was a member of the state legislature. Throughout all this time he retained his close relationship with General Jackson, frequently visiting him at the "Hermitage" after his resignation of the governorship of Florida. Indeed, Hayne was among those who convinced Jackson that Calhoun had supported him in the Florida affair of 1818.[8]

In 1829 Colonel Hayne was one of South Carolina's presidential electors on the Jackson-Calhoun ticket. When Jackson became president he appointed his old friend naval agent in the

[6] Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* 2:104.
[7] *Ibid.,* 2:276.
[8] *Ibid.,* 2:516-517, 544.

Mediterranean, a post which he held for five years; but, when the position of minister to Belgium was offered him, he declined it and returned to private life in Charleston, only to accept, on July 4, 1836, an appointment as major and paymaster in the army. This place he resigned in October of the same year.

Twenty-two years later Hayne was appointed United States senator, in place of J. J. Evans, deceased, and acted in this capacity from May 20, 1858, to January 5, 1859. He died in Charleston on January 7, 1867.

Talbot Chambers was born in Pennsylvania and was appointed a first lieutenant of infantry from that state on June 18, 1808. He attained his captaincy on October 31, 1811, and in April, 1813, was made major and assistant adjutant general. In February, 1814, he was assigned to the Fourth rifle regiment, and was advanced to lieutenant colonel in 1817 and to colonel in 1818. He was transferred to the First infantry in June, 1821. During the war of 1812 he was breveted lieutenant colonel (September, 1814) for gallant conduct in the sortie from Fort Erie. Colonel Chambers' career had an ignominious ending in 1826, when he was cashiered for drunkenness, although the other charges preferred against him were dismissed.[9]

Willoughby Morgan was appointed captain in the Twelfth infantry in April, 1812, and was promoted to the rank of major in June, 1813. After the war of 1812 was over he was retained in the army as a captain of a rifle regiment, but with a brevet of major; he attained the full rank of major in 1817. Successive promotions brought him to a colonelcy in 1830, two years before his death.[10]

William Bradford, born in Kentucky, was appointed from that state as captain of infantry in March, 1812, and later was promoted to the rank of major. He was retained as captain with a brevet of major, and in 1822, when with the Fourth infantry, he was made major. He resigned in 1824 and died in October, 1826.[11]

[9] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army, from its organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (Washington, 1903), 1:294; *Senate documents*, 19 congress, 1 session, volume 4, no. 93.

[10] Heitman, *Historical register of the United States army* (1890), 477.

[11] *Ibid.*, 140.

Joseph Selden, appointed from Virginia as captain in April, 1812, rose to the rank of major and brevet lieutenant colonel for distinguished service. After the war he was retained as a captain. In 1820 he was transferred to the artillery, four months before he resigned in May.[12]

Wyly Martin entered the army as first lieutenant from Tennessee in July, 1813, and received an honorable discharge as captain in June, 1815. He was reinstated in December of the same year and served until 1823, when he resigned.[13]

Matthew J. Magee was a Pennsylvanian and entered service in the war of 1812 as a captain in the Pittsburgh blues, a volunteer. In March, 1813, he was entered in the regular army, from which he was honorably discharged in June, 1815, but was reinstated in the following January as lieutenant of ordnance with brevet of captain from March, 1814. In May he was made captain, the rank antedating to February, 1815. In various regiments of infantry he served until his death in June, 1824.[14]

James Hudson Ballard of Maryland entered the army as second lieutenant in April, 1813. During the war he was regimental adjutant and in 1817 was made captain. In 1822 he was transferred to the artillery, where he served until his death in January, 1823.[15]

Llewellin Hickman, born in Virginia, entered the Second rifle regiment as first lieutenant in March, 1814. He was retained in the same regiment when the war closed, was made captain in February, 1818, and resigned in May, 1820.[16]

Stoughton Gannt, born a Virginian, enlisted in the regular army as surgeon's mate of a rifle regiment in June, 1813. He became first lieutenant in the Fourth rifle regiment and was retained in service after the war. He served successively as paymaster and captain and resigned in April, 1819.[17]

Neither the name Gunnigh nor anything remotely resembling it appears in Heitman.

William Armstrong of Ohio enlisted in the rifles in January,

[12] Heitman, *Historical register of the United States army* (1890), 580.

[13] Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army* (1903), 1:693.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1:684.

[15] *Ibid.*, 1:187.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1:528.

[17] *Ibid.*, 1:444.

1813, was made a third lieutenant two months later, and a second lieutenant in January, 1814. He remained in the regular army and became a lieutenant in October, 1816, and a captain in July, 1818. He died in service in 1827.[18]

Bennett Riley of Maryland was the only person among the officers mentioned in this report who rose to high rank in the army. He enlisted as a private, became a second lieutenant before the end of the war of 1812, first lieutenant, regimental adjutant, and captain by 1818. In September, 1837, he was major in the Fourth infantry, after having been made brevet major for ten years' faithful service in one rank. In 1839 he became a lieutenant colonel, and colonel on the day when the battle of Chokachatta, Florida, was fought, July 2, 1840, for particularly distinguishing himself by bravery and good conduct as well as for long, meritorious, and gallant service. In the Mexican war he was made brigadier general for gallant and meritorious action in the battle of Cerro Gordo, in April, 1847, and major general for his conduct in the battle of Contreras. He died in the harness in 1853.[19]

James S. Gray, born in Virginia, enlisted from Kentucky as third lieutenant in the First rifles in May, 1813. He rose to a second lieutenancy and was retained at this rank after the war. He was promoted to a first lieutenancy in 1817, served for some months in 1818 as regimental quartermaster, and became a captain in November of that year. In 1826 he was cashiered.[20]

Thomas Floyd Smith enlisted as a private from Kentucky in a rifle regiment in July, 1813. He was honorably discharged as a second lieutenant in June, 1815, but was reinstated at his old rank in December. He became first lieutenant in 1817, captain in 1819, and in April, 1829, brevet major for ten years' faithful service in one rank. He resigned in October, 1837, and died in 1844.[21]

L. B. S.

[18] Heitman, *Historical registry of the United States army* (1903, 1:170.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1:831. See also the report of the court of inquiry, held at Puebla, Mexico, to ascertain the facts relating to the battle of Cerro Gordo. *House executive documents*, 30 congress, 1 session, volume 9, no. 85.

[20] Heitman, *Historical register and dictionary of the United States army* (1903), 1:472.

[21] *Ibid.*, 1:903.

Col. A. P. Hayne, Report of Inspection of the 9th Military Department, Including Fort Armstrong and Fort Edwards, October, 1819.[22]

Confidential Report Continued.

9th Military Department.[23]

Talbot Chambers. Col[l] Rifle Reg[t] An attentive, valuable & competent Officer.

Willoughby Morgan. L[t] Col[l] Rifle Regiment, In the Field, active, vigilant, & brave — a man of talents.

William Bradford. Maj[r] Rifle Regiment. Brave, enthusiastic & devoted to his profession.

Jos. Selden, Capt. Rifle Reg[t] — Intelligent and Gentlemanly.

W. Marten. Capt. Rifle Reg[t] — An attentive Officer.

Matthew. I. Magee. Capt. Not known.

I. H. Ballard. Capt. The same as the last.

Lewellen Heckman. Capt. The same as the last.

Stoughton Gantt. Capt. One among the most intelligent & valuable Officers in the Regiment.

I. M. Gunnigh. Capt. Intelligent & industrious & in every respect a valuable Officer.

W[m] Armstrong. Capt. Indolent, tho' capable of making a good Officer.

Bennet Riley. Capt. Subordinate, enterprising, active & brave.

J[s] S. Gray. Capt. Not known.

T. F. Smith 1st Lt. An intelligent, active & valuable Officer.

Progress made in the 9th Military Department, in Discipline, Police, &[c] &[c] &[c]

This Department, till very lately, has been under the immediate Command of Col[l] Chambers. In speaking of the Command, I shall refer to his Administration. The Rifle Corps is the only description of Troops that have man'd this Depart[t] — It will be admitted, when their situation is contrasted with other Regiments of the Army, that they have laboured under many disadvantages. They have not only been disposed by Companies, the natural consequence of their occupying so extensive a Depart[t] but they have also been employed on fortifications & and other

[22] This report is a transcript of a photostatic copy, in the possession of the Illinois state historical library, of United States war department, inspector general's office, *Inspection record,* 1814-1823, pp. 110-124.

[23] Departments eight and nine were in the division of the south. The department headquarters were at Belle Fontaine in Missouri territory, while other posts within the department were at Belle Pointe on the Arkansas, Fort Osage on the Missouri river, Fort Edwards on the Mississippi, Fort Armstrong at Rock Island, and Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien; a garrison and an arsenal were located at Newport, Kentucky. Report for October, 1818, in *American state papers: military affairs,* 1:790.

incessant tho' indispensable fatigue duty, without any manner of respit or relaxation. In addition to this, they have existed in the Want of a system of Drill, calculated for that particular Arm of an Army. But every exertion has been resorted to by Col[l] Chambers, to remedy this defect. He has devised a system of File Movements predicated on the movements of Light Infantry, & which he has practiced whenever circumstances would permit. They are taught to perform their Evolutions by *Bugle Signals*. The firing at the Target has been constantly practiced. The Interior economy & police of the Regiment is excellent — & so soon as concentration is effected, this Regiment will perform all of it's Movements, with that *Celerity & Promptitude* which ever ought to characterise Riflemen. — Col[l] Chambers is a faithful & vigilant Officer; — none more so in our Army; — & is in every respect acquainted with his Duty. The Field, & company Officers, are generally acquainted with their Duty. The Adjutants, Quarter Master & Pay Masters are competent to the Duties assigned them.

The Provisions have been of good quality.

The Forage sufficient.

Hospital Supplies sufficient.

The Ordna[n]ce Department, altho' superintended by an Officer of Talents, Zeal & Industry, has proven in some respects defective.

The Powder Horns for the Reg[t] are too small, & not water proof.

Report of the different Posts in the 9[th] Department, while under the Command of Col[l] Chambers.

Fort Crawford [24] (Les Praire des Chiens) is an Indian work, composed of strong Oak Logs, of a square form, with two block houses, each containing a twelve & six pounder. The Curtain of the Work is formed by the buildings, with appropriate loop holes, & and the Angles strongly Picketed. The Quarters are very neat and comfortable & capable of accomodating 400 men, with the necessary Store Houses &[c] comprised in the Curtain of the Work. It's local situation is an extensive Praire, surrounded by immense high hills, but too distant to command the Work, if occupied by an enemy. It is capable of defending itself against any combined Indian attack, altho' it is in the power of the Indians in 12 days to assemble 2000 Warriors. But it is not calculated to sustain an attack against Artillery. The greatest disadvantage which it labours under, is the inconvenience of procuring wood, which cannot be done at a less distance than Six Miles; — & then attended with uncommon trou-

[24] Military authorities determined in the summer of 1815 to make a strong military post and Indian factory at the mouth of the Wisconsin river. Not until the next year, however, was the work actually begun under the direction of John W. Johnson, the agent appointed for this place. *Wisconsin historical collections*, 19:383-384, and note.

ble & fatigue; — & in a state of War w^d be would [*sic*] constantly be exposed to a predatory attack from the Indians. One half of the Command is generally exposed to the collection of Wood, from one to three months every fall Season. The Site is healthy & if necessary could be supported by the productions of the surrounding Country.

Fort Armstrong,[25] (situate at the Mouth of Rock River) is in the neighborhood of the Souxs and & Fox tribes of Indians. It commands the Mississippi River — is of a square form — composed of strong Oak Logs, well built, with Two block houses, each mounting a Twelve & a Six pounder, & capable of quartering two Companies, but subjecte to be commanded by a Neighbouring height at point blanque distance. It is however sufficiently strong to repel any attack from the Indians — & with the exception of Provisions has every necessary article within reach — the former of which can be procured from S^t Louis.

Belle Fontaine [26] is considered at present as the Depot of this Department. It stands within about four miles of the Confluence of the Missouri & Mississippi Rivers. The Cantonment is very illy constructed & with the exception of the Store houses is in a state of Delapidation. As a Depot it is very inconvenient, in consequence of its distance from S^t Louis, & and the difficulty & danger which attends the Ascent & Descent of the Missouri River. It has been in contemplation to erect a more suitable establishment on a site more contiguous to S^t Louis, & which affords an excellent harbor for boats &^c but the Comd^t of the Depart^t deemed the price of the Land on which it was intended to be erected too extravagant.

Fort Smith [27] (situate at Belle Point, about 500 miles up the Arkinsaw River) is now in a state of progression. It is intended to be a square Work of Strong Timber, calculated for Indian Defence & to Quarter one Com^y with the necessary Store Houses &^c —

[25] Fort Armstrong was established in 1816 as one of the links in a chain of posts to protect the western frontier. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois country, 1673-1818* (*Centennial history of Illinois,* volume 1 — Springfield, 1920), 451.

[26] Belle Fontaine, the department headquarters and cantonment, was established by General James Wilkinson in 1806 at a point north of the mouth of the Missouri. The fort was virtually abandoned the next year when Wilkinson went south on account of the Burr affair. William B. Davis and Daniel S. Durrie, *An illustrated history of Missouri comprising its early record, and civil, political, and military history from the first exploration to the present time* (Cincinnati, 1876), 51.

[27] The construction of Fort Smith was begun in 1817 with the establishment of an army post. A town of the same name grew up and eventually the surrounding country was made into the county of Fort Smith. This was for many years the principal depot for the western posts. It was abandoned in 1871, after it had played a part in the civil war. Fay Hempstead, *Historical review of Arkansas: its commerce, industry and modern affairs* (Chicago, 1911), 1:523.

Fort Edwards [28] on the *Mississippi* & *Fort Osage* [29] on the *Missouri*, orders have been issued for their abandonment — the *latter* is in a state of *delapidation.*

I [*sic*] will be perceived from the above description of the Posts & Fortification, how much severe fatigue Duty the Rifle Corps has performed.

The late accession of Two Regiments of Infantry to this Department of the Army, may be looked upon as a very fortunate Circumstance. For all the Posts comprised within the limits of the Department, in consequence of the enfeebled state of the Commands were perfectly incapacitated from resorting to *Offensive* operations, in any event, or even of enforcing the U. S. Laws. The limited number of Troops, would not on any occasion have admitted the making of such Detachments, as w[d] have made a Salutary impression on the minds of the Indians. I have heretofore looked upon the Posts in this Department, as being of very little real value; — & in the event of a sudden rupture, w[d] have shared the fate of all trivial & weak establishments, situated at a great distance from each other: — and from starvation & other causes w[d] it is more than probable have fallen in regular succession, & accompanied by frequent Massacres, as during the commencement of the late War. But it is believed, that the *weak & exposed Flank* of our *Country is now safe.* In speaking of this interesting Country, & the proper mode of Defending it, the following is the substance of a communication I have lately received from one of my Military correspondents in that Quarter.

The Indians in the Missouri Country compose a number of Warriors well armed and mounted. For attack, not less than *15,000* can be concentrated at any given point. This force is exclusive of the Sioux's & Chippaways of the plains of the Mississippi, with whom they are in the habit of conferring & with whom they c[d] cooperate by the way of Stony Lake in three weeks. The latter tribes are remarkably brave & expert in War, & are jealous of the American character, & completely under the control of the British Companies, particularly that of the "Hudson Bay," who have been and are still incessantly Cabaling to induce the

[28] After the repulse of Taylor when he was trying to drive the British and the Indians from Rock Island in August, 1814, this post was established. Alvord, *The Illinois country, 1673-1818,* p. 447.

[29] Fort Osage was also variously known as Fort Clark and Fort Sibley. It was built in 1808 on a bluff one mile from Sibley on land bought from the Osage Indians, the "six-mile tract." At the time Colonel Haynes made his inspection, Fort Osage was the extreme frontier settlement, some 330 miles above the mouth of the Missouri. *Encyclopedia of the history of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1901), 2:492; Louis Houck, *A history of Missouri from the earliest explorations and settlements until the admission of the state into the union* (Chicago, 1908), 3:148.

Indians to oppose our making any additional establishments on the Mississippi & Missouri Rivers. Whether they will succeed or not in their views is still uncertain. But it has been the impression, & is still believed, that if a respectable & well appointed force is not kept in that country they will be induced to become hostile.

In the establishment of the Posts on the Missouri it is therefore respectfully submitted for consideration the propriety of holding but few positions & having them well situated & completely formed & strongly manned, with a *disposable* force of *mounted men.* Thus an excursion could be promptly made to punish any Depredations which might be attempted on the part of the Indians. The advantages that w^d^ result from having the Troops thus formed & equip^t^ seems very apparent. It w^d^ enable the Troops to supply themselves with the Product of the Country, which can only be obtained by cultivating the Soil & *Hunting Excursion.* If we have not large parties to send out on this Duty, the Indians become^s^ emboldened will either attack them or drive the game off (which can be easily done) beyond our reach. They will also have it in their power to harass & annoy our small parties which can always be done with impunity if they are mounted & we destitute of horsemen in that Campaign Country: — & the consequence will be that we lose our respectable standing in their estimation: — and they will then listen to the artful suggestion of our *implacable* enemies the British — commence hostilities — cut off our supplies — & reduce us to a state of starvation.

Therefore taking into consideration the general aspect of the Country in Question — it being so exclusively calculated for the operations of Mounted men; — the total impracticability of our being able to enforce the United States Laws, governing Indian trade, if concise measures are not resorted to & for which purpose a respectable mil^y^ force seems necessary. I w^d^ by leave under this view of the subject to suggest the occupancy of but Two positions — vis — Mandan [30] & the Mouth of the Yellow Stone River.[31] The former position is in the neighbourhood of the

[30] Lewis and Clark established a fort on the left bank of the Missouri for their winter quarters in 1804-1805. The location was seven or eight miles below the mouth of the Knife river, nearly opposite the site of Fort Clark, which became a fortified trading post in 1822 and a true frontier fort in 1831, erected by the American fur company. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, 1804-1806,* edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (New York, 1904), 1:217, note. Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American fur trade of the far west; a history of pioneer trading posts and early fur companies of the Missouri valley and the Rocky mountains and of the overland commerce with Santa Fe* (New York, 1900), 3:957.

[31] The first post at the mouth of the Yellowstone was established by Ashley and Henry in 1822, but it was abandoned the next year. In 1828 a party sent out by

"Hudson Bay" Company establishment — where their movements & motions can be narrowly watched & detected — & besides a ready communication can be supported with the establish[t] in S[t] Peters River [32] by the way of Stoney Lake.[33] The Post at Yellow Stone it is presumed will communicate with the establish[t] on the Arkensaw River, & detect any insidious attempt from that Quarter by the Spaniards, who frequently visit that Country. The two positions above recommended would require at least 400 men each, mounted and armed with Swords & Rifles or Muskets. It is calculated that one fourth of the Command at each Post including sick men & those otherwise disabled, will be sufficient to perform all the necessary fatigue attendant on Cultivation, whilst the remainder completely armed & rendered expert, by attending solely to the duties of Soldiers, & divided into Three several Detachments, will Scour the Country throughly & at the same time supply the Command with *Wild meat.* Under proper arrangements, the expense of mounting & equiping the Command, w[d] not be very considerable. Horses can be procured, I am informed for *$10* (in trade) a head. Saddles, Bridles &[c] — c[d] be manufactured, from the Skins which are taken. And after having once received a supply of Horses, by proper management, we shall require no more by purchase. Thus formed and equiped the Corps could act in the Three fold capacity of Dragoons Infantry & Riflemen.

I have the honor, to submit the foregoing remarks to the Comd[g] Gen[l] under the belief, that it presents a subject worthly of his most serious consideration. I beg leave also to Subjoin, some general reflections on the importance of Cavalry Service, believing as I do that this branch of our Service, has been entirely overlooked & that it is a subject of vital importance to our Country, whenever she is again engaged in European Warfare. Of the expediency of Mounted men to connect our distant posts on the Western & Noth western frontier of our Country, there can be but one opinion.

Cavalry Corps.

"Cavalry we have little need of; — the enemy cannot send against us

Kenneth McKenzie built what was probably called Fort Floyd, and the next year Fort Union, which had been located some two hundred miles up the Yellowstone, was erected on the Missouri. Chittenden, *American fur trade of the far west,* 3:958-960.

[32] In September, 1819, a command under Leavenworth established itself on the south bank of the St. Peter's or Minnesota river, at Mendota, at the confluence with the Mississippi. The following year work was begun on a permanent work across the river. Fort St. Anthony, as it was called, became the later Fort Snelling. Richard W. Johnson, "Fort Snelling from its foundation to the present time," in *Minnesota historical collections,* 8:426-428.

[33] Big Stone Lake.

any considerable force of that description by Sea, & our Northern Frontiers are unfavorable to its movements."

"By W^m^ Theobald Wolfe Tone"
"formerly Officer of Light Cavalry
& Aid De Camp in the French Service
& member of the Legion of Honor."
Chapter 6 — page. 74.

I must enter my Dissent to the Opinion expresses in the above Quotation — altho' as far as I have been able to judge, it seems to offer the general sentiment of the Nation. The Argument seems to me to be a very plain one; — & the following are my reasons.

The Cavalry, is that Arm of an Army, which is *peculiarly adapted*, to the *Defence* of the *United States.* No Nation, not even the Arabs excepted, are as good horsemen as the Independent Yeomanry of the Western and South Western Section's of our Country. The Boy is there taught, at the earliest period to ride, & to value himself upon his skill in horsemanship; — after which the gun is placed in his hands, & the Chase becomes not only a favorite but highly useful employment. Our *Horses* too are as well *adapted* for *Cavalry Service*, as *those of any other Nation.*

I think, it will hardly be denied, *That* when *Two Hostile Armies* take the Field against each other, & are in every respect upon an equality — whose Chiefs, are on a footing, in point of Military Talent and Capacity for War — whose Discipline, Munitions & Equipment are alike; — *but* the *one* of *them possessed* of a *decided superiority* in a *well appointed Cavalry*; — *that* the *one possessed* of *this superiority must always be victorious.* This opinion (I must say *Fact.*) is *clearly* supported, as well by *History*, as the *opinions* of *Military men.* It will also be admitted, that in the best & most perfect Organized Armies, from the Days of Caesar, to the period when Bonaparte invaded the Russian Empire, *That* the the *Cavalry always* composed a most respectable portion of all Armies.

Now in those Wars, which may take place at a future period, such is the great *distance* & *expense* of transporting Cavalry across the Atlantic. That the Nations of Europe can never avail themselves of this useful species of Troops. And hence the conclusion is irresistible, *That European Armies invading this Country & being destitute* of that *important Arm* of an *Army, can never make head against an American Army, supported* by *superior* & well *appointed Cavalry Corps. For this superiority in every instance in which it is supported by equal Genius in the Chief, decides the Victory. And this is a Desideratum in the Military History of our Country, which is peculiar to the Country itself*; — &

fraught with the most important consequences if properly attended to; —& is *well worthy of the serious & most mature reflection & deliberation of the Government.*

Again, in Military affairs, we are taught by experience, how to set a proper value on time. Now, it is Celerity of Movement above all things, that most effectually places us in a situation to command time. And to bring about so desirable an event, Cavalry Corps are the most active & important agent used on the occasion. It was Celerity of Movement & the result produced there from which exhibited the French Army under the Dynasty of Bonaparte as the most perfect that ever existed. The *cause* and the *effect* are here clearly perceived.

I hazard nothing in saying, that Two Hundred Veteran Cavalry, after the Battle of Chippewa, led on by a *William Washington*, w^d^ have captured the whole British Army. What a saving of Blood & money would this have been to the Nation. But the American Army was on that occasion destitute of Cavalry. It has been contended tho', & by Officers of the highest Grade on the the [*sic*] Niagara Frontier, That the Country about Fort George was by no means calculated for the operations of Cavalry. *But I assume the position, That after Defeat, Cavalry are always effectual & efficient.* The *Charge* of *Cavalry after the Defeat* of the *Enemy is* by *independent File, each horseman acting in his own individual Capacity.* Under such circumstances, it matters but little, if the face of the Country is Rough. But previous to Defeat, if the Charge is to be made upon unbroken Infantry — it is always done in line in Column. In the latter case, the Country about Fort George, w^d^ be unfavorable for Cavalry operation. I have always been under the impression, that your Campaign against the the [*sic*] Creek Nation of Indians, w^d^ have failed, without the *prompt aid* of *your Mounted men.*[34]

I will hear mention another circumstance which tho' it may appear Curious. is nevertheless true — vis: — That it is in the Cavalry service, that the best and most efficient Officers are found. Corps of this Description are always in the presence of the enemy — their Officers are ever at the Head of separate & independent commands — depending upon the resources of their own Genius & constantly exercising their own judgment, & to which we may add the fact, that where the Artillery & Infantry Officer is in one Battle, the Cavalry and Rifle Officer is ten times. It is in the hour of battle — it is at that perilous Crisis, that Mil^y^ Genius Develops itself; — & it is in that situation that such men as the

[34] General Jackson's operations against the Creeks, 1813-1814. One regiment of volunteer cavalry and one of mounted riflemen had been used to good advantage in the Fort Strother affair, November 3, 1813, and in the later phases of the campaign. Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 1: chapters 7 and 8.

gallant Howard of *Revolutionary fame*,[35] could ever feel the full extent of his Capacity, talents, & Milʸ Genius.

The Moral effect of horsemen in all armies, more especially in their operating against Savage Nations, is much greater than is generally imagined. In the formation of all armies to a certain extent, one mounted man, is worth ten foot Soldiers.

Let it be remembered too, that well appointed Cavalry Corps are not to be formed in a day. The King of Prussia, who was in an especial manner the Father of this Species of Troops, & whose Cavalry was the finest & the most perfect the World has ever seen, said it wᵈ take 5 yrs to form a Veteran Dragoon. In our Country it wᵈ certainly take half that time.

And finally without Cavalry in a regular Campaign, none of the Fruits of victory can be realized — without Cavaltry Milʸ operations are reduced to a mere mechanical opposition of strength — because the Cavalry alone can give those last & fine touches to Victory which make it complete and render it effectual.

All of which, is respectfully,
submitted to yr consideration
by yr obᵗ serᵗ
A. P. Hayne
Inspᵗ Genˡ
Sº Div.
Octʳ 1819.

To.
Majʳ Genˡ A. Jackson
Comᵈᵍ Sº Army.
Hᵈ Qʳˢ Nashville.
Approved.

[*Indorsement*:] Confidential report of the Inspector Genl Col Hoyne on the Southern Division of the U S Army in 1819 — No- 2

[35] Lieutenant Colonel Howard, in the battle of Cowpens, turned the tide against Tarleton's forces by leading an attack of his continentals. It was in this engagement, as well, that Lieutenant Colonel Washington used his cavalry to such advantage against the British horse. Robert Tomes, *Battles of America by sea and land: consisting of the colonial and revolutionary battles, the war of 1812, and the Mexican campaigns; with biographies of naval and military commanders, and illustrative anecdotes* (New York, 1861), 2:301, 302.

BOOK REVIEWS

My quarter century of American politics. In two volumes. By Champ Clark. (New York: Harper and brothers, 1920. 495 and 472 p. $6.00 net)

"While I am not general counsel for the star actors in the world's drama, I make bold to suggest to them that if they desire a square deal in history they would do well to imitate Caesar and Xenophon and write the histories themselves."

If this is the reason why Doniphan, a discussion of whose case precedes the quotation above, has received less than his just deserts at the hands of posterity, Champ Clark has no intention to depart unwept and unsung; he has sung his own song in two fat volumes with the evident intention that he shall get a "square deal in history." If, however, generations to come ever read these tomes, it is not unlikely that they will be left with a feeling that a commonplace, egotistical mortal, who succeeded through the vagaries of American politics in rising to a position of considerable prominence in his day, has here laid bare his own soul, even though he has not added to the knowledge of events of a transcendent interest, the significance of which he gives no evidence of having comprehended to the slightest degree, although perforce he played a part in them.

To the reminiscences of public men students of history should have confidence that they can turn for more light on the drama in which the narrator took a part. For the student of the development of the Mississippi valley in particular and of the country in general, twenty-five years of American politics as portrayed by so prominent a man as Champ Clark promises a wealth of information hard to duplicate. Yet, after wading through nearly a thousand pages, one lays down the second volume and asks what has been added to the sum total of information hitherto available, only to be forced to admit that the increment of human knowledge has been scarcely more than infinitesimal. Indeed, one is impelled to think that it is scarcely less than a crime for a man so placed to write so much and say so little.

For perhaps a dozen chapters in the first volume, in which the story deals with Mr. Clark's early life and entrance into the political arena, there is to be found considerable of minor import told in a not uninteresting manner. The appetite is whetted for the feast that does not ap-

pear. Overloaded as these first chapters are with irrelevant anecdote and inconsequential detail, they are not to be compared with what follows. Those portions of the work actually dealing with "My quarter century of American politics" are clogged with an almost interminable succession of petty personalities about all sorts of individuals, threaded by the slightest kind of illuminating narrative of real significance. Everywhere Mr. Clark is led afield to tell what he has read — and his reading has apparently been wide, even though not deep nor discriminating — or what he has heard about persons who may legitimately appear, as well as about those who have no conceivable place, in his book. He ranges not alone over the events of his own day, but drags out every imaginable yarn of worthies and unworthies who have figured in American history or in that of other countries. All is grist for his mill.

And statistics! In them Mr. Clark revels. Not statistics of the ordinary variety, for figures as commonly used obtrude themselves but little in these pages; a sample may be taken from the chapter devoted to former Vice President Sherman. Sherman was a member of congress before he was vice president and this leads to an enumeration of all the vice presidents who ever served in the house of representatives. At another time Mr. Clark is discussing a notable out of the ordinary because of some physical characteristic; thereupon he digresses to tell all he has learned about tall men and short men, fat men and lean men, handsome men and ugly men, men who sang well and those who lacked in tunefulness, who ever had anything to do with American public life, particularly those who served in one or the other house of congress. Length of service in congress is a favorite theme and affords material for many pages.

Ever recurrent is "oratory." A well-balanced tongue fills Mr. Clark with delight, and the mention of someone who shone as a public speaker brings a disquisition on all the famous orators from Demosthenes and Cicero to the "Silver-tongued Orator from the Platte." It makes no difference if the same thing has been told once or a half-dozen times in the preceding pages; the fact is worth repeating.

Repetition, indeed, is one of the most noticeable idiosyncrasies of the volume. One imagines that Mr. Clark dictated a chapter or so at a time, and did not take the trouble to find out whether he had told the same thing before.

When the last chapter of the second volume has been reached one feels that the real cause for writing all these words has been found, and one enters upon a long account of how the nomination for the presidency by the democratic party in 1912 was basely wrested from Mr. Clark and bestowed upon Mr. Wilson. That this vile deed occurred has not been

withheld from the reader all this time. Far from it. Several times previously the bald fact has been stated, but the complete story of how the steal was worked, and the treacherous part played therein by William Jennings Bryan, has to be detailed at length. Mr. Bryan, aided by the "antiquated two-thirds rule," turned the trick. "That rule was a device of the pro-slavery propagandists to enable them to nominate Democratic candidates for the presidency in whom they could trust and in whose hands they felt that their interests would be safe." This rule was introduced in the Baltimore convention of 1844 to prevent the nomination of Van Buren and to secure a democratic candidate in favor of the annexation of Texas! And so Polk was nominated; Polk, whose diary "should be printed and generally read, as it treats comprehensively of certain exceedingly important events in our annals!" (Let this be called to the attention of Mr. Quaife.) This rule "should have been repealed in 1868; but it was retained and used in 1912, a half century later, to gouge me out of the presidential nomination, notwithstanding the fact that I led on twenty-nine ballots and received a clear majority on eight."

But truth will be vindicated. "One of my college professors was always shouting to the boys, '*Carpe diem*!'—'Seize the day!' My suggestion to statesmen is, 'Seize the pen!' "

L. B. S.

Personal memoirs of the home life of the late Theodore Roosevelt. As soldier, governor, vice president, and president, in relation to Oyster Bay. By Albert Loren Cheney, formerly editor of the *Oyster Bay Pilot*. (Washington: Cheney publishing company, 1919. 134 p. $1.50)

Life and work of Theodore Roosevelt. Typical American. Patriot, orator, historian, sportsman, soldier, statesman, and president. By Thomas H. Russell, LL.D. With an introduction by Merritt Starr, M.A., LL.B. A special tribute by Major General Leonard Wood, U.S.A. (Chicago: L. H. Walter company, 1919. 512 p. $2.25)

Talks with T. R. From the diaries of John J. Leary, Jr. By John J. Leary, Jr. (New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1920. 334 p. $3.50)

Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt. By Lawrence F. Abbott. (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, and company, 1920. 315 p. $3.00)

Probably no American ever had more intimate relations with writers for the press than Colonel Roosevelt. Three of the volumes mentioned were written by correspondents. *Personal memoirs of the home life of Theodore Roosevelt* might well have been entitled "Roosevelt's relations to his friends and neighbors of Oyster Bay." This portrayal serves to

emphasize the fact that Colonel Roosevelt disregarded the stations in life of those with whom he associated. The volume throughout smacks of the one-time county history type of narrative, and numerous extraneous paragraphs are introduced. While it is interesting to note that sufficient books were given by Colonel Roosevelt to establish a library in the A. M. E. church (p. 32), this has little connection with the following paragraph, which asserts that "the capacity of the High School Building has been greatly increased and the facilities improved through the energetic effort of Mr. John F. Bermingham, President of the Board of Education, and Principal Whitaker." Nor does the statement, wholly extraneous, that John C. Kennahan, who was formerly owner of the *Oyster Bay Pilot* and for twenty-two years a reporter on the *Brooklyn Eagle*, hired a special locomotive on the Long Island railroad to get a confession from Rugg, the murderer, and that he started life as a newsboy, entitle him to a full-page portrait (p. 47).

Mr. Russell has added little matter in his "Memorial edition of the life and work of Theodore Roosevelt" that is not familiar to those who know the *Autobiography* and Thayer's *Life of Roosevelt*. The first seventy-five pages include a well-prepared introduction by Merritt Starr, which summarizes the events in the public career of Colonel Roosevelt, and testimonials by General Leonard Wood, Governor Frank O. Lowden, Chauncey Depew, Henry Watterson, and numerous other persons, on the significance of such a life (pp. 39-75). The illustrations are a noteworthy feature of the volume, but there is little order in their arrangement.

Colonel Roosevelt wrote in 1917, "I have long known Mr. John J. Leary, Jr., well and intimately, I vouch for him absolutely. He is a man of exceptional intelligence and energy, of entire discretion, of excellent judgment, a dead game man, and absolutely straight. . . . I would put him in any confidential position under me if I were given command." Mr. Leary's volume is compiled from his notebooks, in which he kept a record of conversations with Colonel Roosevelt. The range of topics is extended, as indicated by the titles: "Roosevelt and 1920"; "The break with William Howard Taft"; "Roosevelt's one talk with Mr. Wilson"; "New blood in the G. O. P."; "How I lost my eye"; "Clashes with the kaiser"; and "Our college life." Colonel Roosevelt's statement of his relations to the citizens of Oyster Bay may well be compared with that of Mr. Cheney. He said: "There are many things in Oyster Bay that I would like to see changed but I cannot well do anything. If I interfered, many would not like it." Mr. Leary concludes as follows: "The entire truth, I think, is that Roosevelt was not really understood by the town folks. Some resented the fact that only a few

of their number ever were asked to Sagamore Hill, where Roosevelt's life, while simple, was essentially that of the lord of the manor. They felt that it was in many ways a world apart, and that the great and important who visited Sagamore Hill were not their kind'' (pp. 270, 271).

Of these volumes, the one which will easily take rank among the best studies on the significance of the career of Theodore Roosevelt is the one by Mr. Abbott. While he does not attempt to present a chronological narrative of the details in the life of Colonel Roosevelt, he does give the reader an interpretation of outstanding events such as no other writer has done.

Eleven years of intimate association and friendship and double that period of acquaintanceship with Colonel Roosevelt gave Mr. Abbott an unusual equipment for his task. They discussed, freely, the affairs of the nation, and their conversations and letters constitute important contributions to an understanding of Colonel Roosevelt's career. Among the topics especially stressed are: Roosevelt as a journalist, historian, and traveler; the development of progressive principles and the severing of friendly relations with President Taft (pp. 64-85, 192); digging the Panama canal; and hostility toward President Wilson. ''The greatest material contribution that Theodore Roosevelt made to his country, to his time and to the world, was the Panama canal.'' ''What he did,'' Mr. Abbott asserts, ''was to seize with courage and vigor an opportunity that presented itself'' (p. 137). ''He profoundly believed that he had performed not only an act of service to the world, but an act of public justice.''

Many readers will be surprised to note that of the four qualities selected to define the personality of Colonel Roosevelt, the first is caution (pp. 267-273). About the others — courage, a sense of humor, and gentleness — there can be little question; nor can there be dissent from the statement that, notwithstanding his splendid public record, it was Theodore Roosevelt himself, ''as a living, breathing human person, that he will be longest remembered'' (p. 265); and that there never was a greater patriot (p. 266).

J. A. James

The sequel of Appomattox. A chronicle of the reunion of the states. By Walter Lynwood Fleming. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 322 p. $3.50)

One cannot well imagine a better nor a more interesting book on reconstruction than this, at least not within the limits of three hundred pages.

Not only does the selection of facts and illustrative material commend the work, but the style, like that of so many others of this series, is gripping.

Professor Fleming says that the war determined two things: the abolition of slavery and the integrity of the union. But he quickly adds that there arose a bewildering set of problems, almost as difficult and ominous as slavery and disunion had been in 1861. He is not wrong. The union which had been saved was in 1866-1868 as completely under the domination of a small number of financial and industrial masters as it had been under the control of the owners of slaves in 1860. And negroes, set free, were almost as much of a social menace as they had been in bondage. If they did not have the vote, they would probably become peons of the white people of the south. If they were given the right to vote, they would become at once objects of the most corrupting of sectional competitions. In any case, the defeated south would have many more votes in congress and in the electoral college than it had had before the war. That was a problem indeed when one remembers that the eastern states had lost the sympathy and support of the middle-western states before the war came to an end. The only way the east could secure its hold upon the national destiny was to secure the electoral votes of the defeated south by disfranchising white men, capable of intelligent political action, and by enfranchising negro men, utterly incompetent to govern great commonwealths.

The way out of the dilemma was found in what is called reconstruction — a policy that was applied with drastic and cruel intent to the defeated section for ten years and then abandoned by the leaders of the east as a hopeless and almost immoral experiment.

How the east maintained its hold upon congressmen, governors, and presidential electors in the region west of Philadelphia and slowly brought states like Ohio and Illinois under its tutelage is not here set down. But the agencies of social control in the south are admirably described. Most prominent of these agencies were the union league clubs of the north, and the chapter on this subject will make good reading for many people who belong to the so-called union league clubs of to-day.

The orgy of corruption usually described as carpetbag rule in the south is too well known to be especially pointed out here; and the methods of and occasional murders and constant intimidation of the blacks by the Ku-Klux organizations are equally familiar. But the two chapters which treat these subjects are marvels for just treatment and successful condensation. The consequences of reconstruction and of the attempts of the union leagues to intervene in the most important of local affairs are well described in the following striking passage:

"By the fires of reconstruction the whites were fused into a more

homogeneous society, social as well as political. The former slave-holding class continued to be more considerate of the negro than were the poor whites; but as misrule went on all classes tended to unite against the negro in politics. . . . Probably this burden [*of reconstruction*] fell heavier on the young men, who had life before them and who were growing up with diminished opportunities. Sidney Lanier, then an Alabama school teacher, wrote to Bayard Taylor, 'perhaps you know that with us of the young generation in the South, since the war, pretty much the whole of life has been merely not dying.' . . . The tax payers were non-participants in the affairs of government. . . . There were some who refused for several years to read the newspapers, so unpleasant was the news''; as indeed some very distinguished people throughout the whole country now turn in disgust from the daily papers.

WILLIAM E. DODD

Judicial settlement of controversies between states of the American union. Cases decided in the supreme court of the United States. In two volumes. Collected and edited by James Brown Scott, A.M., J.U.D., LL.D. [Publications of the Carnegie endowment for international peace. Division of international law] (New York: Oxford university press, 1918. 873 and 1775 pp.)

Judicial settlement of controversies between states of the American union. An analysis of cases decided in the supreme court of the United States. By James Brown Scott, A.M., J.U.D., LL.D. [Publications of the Carnegie endowment for international peace. Division of international law] (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1919. 543 pp.)

These are two companion works, the first in two quarto volumes, and the second in one. The compilation of cases involving controversies between states of the American union and the analysis of these cases are issued in the hope that they may aid in the general establishment of the conviction that the society of nations may safely ''do what thirteen States of the American Union have done, and, like forty-eight States now composing this more perfect Union, settle their controversies without destroying themselves and disturbing the peace of the world.'' The author, who was formerly solicitor for the department of state of the United States, technical delegate of the United States to the second Hague peace conference in 1907, as well as to the peace conference at Paris in 1919, and who is editor of the *American journal of international law* and director of the division of international law of the Carnegie endowment for international peace, possesses an unusual equipment for the preparation of these volumes.

The volumes of cases contain the texts of the decisions, more than eighty in number, involving controversies between states, which the

supreme court decided during the period from 1799 through June 10, 1918, when the work was prepared for the press. Prefacing these cases are the texts of a number of cases of major importance which have contributed to the crystallization of our constitutional system. These deal with the origin and nature of the government of the United States as well as the governments of the several states, and the nature and extent of the judicial power and its relation to the legislative and executive power of the United States. The publication, in convenient form, of these important decisions, which seem to be growing in frequency, is a service which lawyers and students of history and politics will appreciate.

In the analysis of the judicial controversies between the states, the author presents the salient historical facts leading to the controversies and the questions at issue so thoroughly as to make his work not merely a case book in constitutional law, but a study of the development of our great judicial system as well. It will, consequently, make usable the case books themselves not only for the American readers, but also for others whose familiarity with official case reports is not such as to make the mere texts of these decisions understandable.

The works appear at an opportune time. Whatever the future may have in store for the league of nations, attention must certainly be directed more and more to the establishment of machinery for the judicial settlement of international disputes. The prototype most frequently suggested for this court is the supreme court of the United States. How far the power of this court has developed since Jackson uttered his famous dictum, "John Marshall has rendered his decision, now let him enforce it," is shown in the latest decision in the long controversy between the states of Virginia and West Virginia, in which the court recognized a duty to enforce its own decisions, if need be, by direct authority to be given it for the purpose, or under existing legislation.

Some have regarded the establishment of the supreme court the greatest contribution the Americans have made to the development of stable political institutions. It is certain to exercise a dominant influence in the shaping of any international tribunal which may be created. Those concerned with the building of such a structure or the shaping of its early course of development will find in Dr. Scott's works assistance of no inconsiderable value.

S. Gale Lowrie

The nonpartisan league. By Herbert E. Gaston. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. 325 p. $1.50)

Whatever may be one's personal attitude toward the nonpartisan league, there can be no question but that this organization of western farmers has lived long enough and has accomplished enough to entitle

it to an impressive and arresting chapter in the history of the agrarian movement which began in the United States with the granger agitation of the seventies. The rôle of historian of the nonpartisan league has been essayed during the current year by two writers, Herbert E. Gaston and Charles Edward Russell, both of whom have been connected with the league in official capacities. The volume under review, by Mr. Gaston, presents a sympathetic account of the farmers' revolt and is written with a conscious restraint all the more remarkable because of the violent controversial literature which has hitherto formed our chief source of information regarding the merits and deficiencies of the movement.

The author gives a satisfactory social and economic setting for the unrest of the North Dakota farmers, shows the development of the economic and political program of the league in North Dakota, traces the expansion of the organization into twelve other states, and presents a lively picture of the experiences and difficulties of the league during the recent war. His narrative is enlivened with characterizations of the leaders and of the enemies of the movement, and with interpretations of motives and social pressures which the historian can accept, for the present, only as interesting or plausible hypotheses.

Much of the material in the book is a familiar story to anyone who has been following the career of the league in the current periodicals. Mr. Gaston's special contribution is perhaps found in his succinct description of the methods employed in building up the league membership and in his account of the legislative tactics practiced by the league leaders. The phrase "An idea, a Ford, and $16" goes far toward explaining the success of league organizers in winning members — that is, if the phrase carries with it the thought that the organizers were consciously applying to their task the principles of modern salesmanship. The legislative strategy of the league reflects a careful study of the methods by which its hated enemy, "Big Biz," had carried through its measures in earlier days; these methods the league leaders have openly adopted and are applying with scientific efficiency to securing reforms desired by the mass of the population, the farmers.

The last and least important chapter, entitled "Survey and forecast," betrays the zeal of the convert more clearly than any other portion of the book.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER

The new civics. A textbook for secondary schools. By Roscoe Lewis Ashley. (New York: Macmillan company, 1918. 420 p. $1.20)

It is a far cry from the old type of textbooks in civics that held sway only a few years ago to the new type that has recently come into existence. The older books dealt with constitutions of states and the insti-

tutions of government under those constitutions, and contained absolutely nothing in the way of illustrations. They were, therefore, generally considered by the average high school pupil to be pretty dull and uninteresting reading. The recent books are dealing with the problems of citizenship and are liberally illustrated with charts, graphs, and pictures. They are proving to be decidedly attractive and are doing much toward making the subject of civics one of the livest and most helpful subjects in the high school curriculum. The book under review is one of the best of this new type of books on civics.

Like the older books on this subject, Mr. Ashley's *New civics* is divided into three parts. But instead of one part being devoted to local government, another to state government, and another to national government, as the old-time texts in civics were divided, this example of the new type devotes its three parts to citizenship and society, the government and the citizen, and some public activities, respectively. The chapters in the first part deal with citizenship, the education of the citizen, the American nation, civic organization, and the American home and family. Those in the second part are devoted to suffrage and elections, other means of popular control, civic liberty and public welfare, public finance, city government, state and county government, the national constitution, and national government. Those in the third part have to do with public health and welfare, labor and industry, commerce, other business activities, territories and public lands, and foreign relations.

Looking over the array of topics arranged under the chapter headings that have just been enumerated, one is likely to say with the author that "the field of the new civics seems at first glance to lack definite boundaries." Here, in addition to the standard topics in civics, are a great variety of matters that have heretofore been counted as belonging exclusively to the fields of commerce, economics, and sociology. As yet the new civics is in the experimental stage. How much farther it will reach out into these fields and appropriate subject matter therefrom and adapt it to its own purposes, remains yet to be seen. Mr. Ashley has done a good piece of work in this attempt to broaden the study of civics and make it contribute all the more directly and effectively to the preparation of boys and girls for the duties of American citizenship.

E. M. Violette

Memories of Buffalo Bill. By his wife, Louisa Frederici Cody, in collaboration with Courtney Ryley Cooper. (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1919. 326 p. $2.50 net)

The adventures of Colonel W. F. Cody, "Buffalo Bill," as a buffalo hunter, Indian fighter, and originator of the "wild west" show have been told countless times and in various forms — from the melodramatic dime

novels of Ned Buntline to Cody's own memoirs. But it has remained for his widow, Louisa Frederici Cody, to give to his admirers another side of the adventurous plainsman's career, his domestic life. In her *Memories of Buffalo Bill,* written in collaboration with Courtney Ryley Cooper, she recounts many of the exploits which made Cody one of America's boyhood's idols; but for the most part the man of whom she writes is plain "Will" Cody, the lover and husband. It is a romantic, if somewhat sentimental, story of an unusual wooing and a married life filled with more adventures and dangers than ordinarily fall to the lot of a young husband and wife of this day.

To the historian, the book is chiefly interesting because of the picture it presents of pioneer home-making and life on the Kansas frontier when the railroads were first pushing across the plains. Mrs. Cody's girlhood was spent in St. Louis, an ante-bellum St. Louis which was a gateway to the frontier and in which the lamplighter made his nightly rounds; and here in 1865 she met Will Cody, the union army scout. The next year she was accompanying him into the west as a bride, traveling from St. Louis to Leavenworth by steamer and then on to Fort Hays by wagon train. Here under the most primitive conditions she began her task of home-making and had her first experiences with the rough and dangerous life which was to be hers for the next decade.

At this outpost of civilization she saw her husband, while hunting bison under contract with the Kansas Pacific railroad, win the name which gave him international fame; she learned to kill buffaloes herself, shooting them from the saddle on the front of which rode her little daughter; she met and danced with the redoubtable "Wild Bill" Hickok; she entertained the Earl of Dunraven and the Grand Duke Alexius of Russia in her prairie home; and she participated in many a thrilling adventure with the Sioux and the Pawnee who swarmed about the country.

No more typical picture of frontier conditions is recorded than Mrs. Cody's account of the boom town of Rome in which her husband planned to become a millionaire over night, a dream which ended abruptly when the town was picked up, placed on wheels, and moved far from its original site to a place on the railroad — all within twenty-four hours. Of similar interest is her story of Cody's career as a justice of the peace at their later home in Nebraska; he performed marriages, granted divorces, and dispensed justice in general with only the aid of a book of Nebraska statutes and his own idea of common sense.

Of Buffalo Bill, the actor in Ned Buntline's melodramas and the originator of the "wild west" show, there is much that is old and little that is new to his admirers. On the whole, Mrs. Cody in her book has

succeeded well in dispelling the haze of the theatrical and the sensational which has surrounded Buffalo Bill so long, and her story is none the less interesting because in showing her husband in his rôle of the pioneer, she unconsciously pays a high tribute to those pioneer women, of whom she was one, who played their important part in the winning of the west.

E. S. W.

The moral basis of democracy. Sunday morning talks to students and graduates. By Arthur Twining Hadley. (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 206 p. $1.75)

The eighteen talks — sermons they might better be called — that make up this volume were delivered before the students and graduates of Yale university during the years 1908-1919. Their arrangement (not chronological) in book form appears to have been dictated largely by the great war and the principles involved therein. In his preface the author points out that "the dangers to freedom are more immediate and more complex today than they were fifty years ago." There is a great difference between the conditions ruling at the close of the civil war and those at the present time when "liberty is threatened from below as well as from above." Control is the anchor of democracy.

The talks which Mr. Hadley has included in his book are well chosen for their similarity and continuity of thought and exhibit that personal touch induced by the intimacy of college life. There are two sections in the volume: the first, of ten talks, is entitled "Ethics of citizenship"; and the second, "Ethics of leadership." As might be expected in any series of this nature, there is some duplication of thought and expression, while necessarily propositions are stated at times in general instead of in specific terms.

Throughout, the author makes use of history to develop his points, and vindicates his arguments by referring to past events and past epochs. The one great central theme about which he plays is that the ideals of practical Christianity are best suited to the development and safeguarding of democracy. Indeed, the volume might have been called "The moral and spiritual basis of democracy."

The book is interesting throughout. There is no cant about it, and thoughts are expressed in good, vigorous English. It is a good book to read at this period in our history when the moral as well as the religious fabric of all nations is being pulled between mighty forces. There is nothing new in the volume and the author would be the last to claim that there is. It is simply a statement, many times repeated, of certain elements entering into right, dynamic living.

James Alexander Robertson

Canada at war. 1914-1918. A record of heroism and achievement. By J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S., F.R.G.S. Including a story of five cities. By Robert John Renison. (New York: George H. Doran company, 1919. 448 p. $5.00 net)

"The mission of this volume," says Sir Robert Borden, "is to survey the battleground of the nations from the viewpoint of Canada and to record the various phases of Canadian life and thought, action and accomplishment." For this task no one is better fitted than Mr. Hopkins, who has for many years published the *Canadian annual review.* He has rearranged and rewritten the material gathered for the *Review* so as to form a continuous narrative. It is illustrated by many photographs from the official Canadian war records. While not brilliant, it contains a wealth of information well organized, and will give the American reader a new understanding of Canada's part in the war.

The progress of Canada "from a condition of extreme pacifism to one of continuous war-thought and organized action" — from a dominion to a nation — is treated chronologically through the first half of the book and then topically. We have a picture of Canada on the eve of war — prosperous, content as a dominion, influenced by the American materialistic spirit, viewing the world situation as unreal. But when war came all Canadians were as one in defense of the empire. This story of the meeting of the national crisis is one of the best told in the volume. In it a tribute is paid to Sir Robert Borden as a statesman — the only British premier to retain his office throughout the war, with the exception of General Botha.

Six chapters tell in straight narrative of the raising of the army of 500,000 men, of the Canadians in England and at the front during the four years 1915-1918. The now famous battles in which the Canadians took part — Ypres, St. Julien, Passchendaile, Vimy Ridge, and the others — are described in some detail. But unfortunately Mr. Hopkins relies on long quotations from John Buchan and other writers rather than on his own pen. The value of this section would be enhanced by maps.

The topical chapters take up such questions as war economics and conditions in Canada (chapter 12) which, in the opinion of the reviewer, is the most interesting contribution to a knowledge of Canadian war problems and their solution that has been offered. Finance, trade, industry, labor, agriculture, and the high cost of living are all reviewed. One finds that the general economic condition rested on more than munition contracts and war supplies. It involved the change from a debtor to a creditor nation. An opinion with which one may differ in this chapter is that the general grant of voting rights to women was too sudden and was uncalled for (p. 238).

The problem of the French Canadians is treated sympathetically and with insight based on careful study. Mr. Hopkins points out that the province "has a better record than is popularly believed to exist" (p. 296) and he sums the matter up by saying that too little may have been given by Quebec, but altogether too much was expected.

The last one hundred pages of the volume are devoted to a story of five cities — Amiens, Arras, Cambrai, Valenciennes, Mons, and the Invisible City — a Canadian epic of one hundred days by a chaplain, Robert John Renison, in which is caught and interpreted the spirit of Canadian chivalry.

RUDOLF A. CLEMEN

The Monroe doctrine and the great war. By Arnold Bennett Hall, J.D., associate professor of political science, University of Wisconsin. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and company, 1920. 177 p. $.75)

Professor Hall has written a brief sketch of the Monroe doctrine from its inception to the present, in order "to provide a means by which the busy but thoughtful citizens may help themselves to grapple with this problem." No doubt the volume will serve this purpose sufficiently well, although in dealing with the Monroe doctrine in recent years his discussion is open to the charge of being somewhat naïve. It is much easier to make a case for the doctrine when the United States was weak, and when the political systems of Europe and America were fundamentally different, than it is when neither of these conditions obtained. Professor Hall does justify it, however, in the later as well as in the earlier period; and in dealing, for example, with our Caribbean activities, he is reduced to the conventional plea that we have been actuated by the legitimate desire to protect our own interests against European powers, and also by the laudable wish to do a lot of good to the Caribbean peoples. "It is a policy of development, not exploitation; of international guardianship, not territorial aggrandizement; of equal trade for all" — the sort of phrases one finds in diplomatic state papers. The account of the inception and formulation of the doctrine is more effectively managed. For its origins the experience of the colonies is important, and Professor Hall might with effect have quoted a relevant passage in Tom Paine's *Common sense.* In recent years the so-called "secret treaty of Verona" has had a great run in the United States. Professor Hall accepts and quotes it. I hope he did not get it from a short article which I once wrote on the Monroe doctrine in which the "secret treaty" is also accepted and quoted. Perhaps he found it where I did — in a book by an eminent Wisconsin professor. Where the Wisconsin professor got it I don't know — probably in Elliott's *American diplomatic code.*

It would be interesting to know where Elliot got it, for it is undoubtedly spurious.

C. B.

The maintenance of peace. Or, the foundation of domestic and international peace as deduced from the history of nations. By Samuel C. Vestal. (New York: G. P. Putnam and sons, 1920. 584 p. $5.00)

This is not a volume on western history, but the theme is so important that it is bound to command the attention of historians in all fields. The most important single subject confronting the world in recent years is that of the maintenance of peace. It is refreshing to find a book on the subject that has been scientifically prepared, and that is free from the emotional preaching so common in the literature on the subject.

Colonel Vestal has devoted the best years of his life to the military service of his country. He is more than a soldier; he is a careful, scientific student of history. The present volume is the result of years of careful study of problems of world peace suggested by the pacifist propaganda.

In chapters 1 and 2 he states his point of view, and points out that there are two main phases of the problem: first, the maintenance of domestic peace, from which there is no respite; and second, the maintenance of international peace. He then goes on in the succeeding chapters to show how nations have grown, how wars have come about and the purposes for which they have been fought, and the success of the various attempts to bring about an era of world peace.

He reduces the various schemes for world peace to four types: first, world domination by a single power, such as Rome established in the days of Caesar; second, a balance of power maintained by independent nations such as has obtained in Europe in recent centuries; third, a world federation such as some prominent pubilcists have proposed; and fourth, a mutual guarantee of independence and territorial integrity against the aggressions of any outlaw power. Each plan is discussed historically at considerable length and such conclusions as are drawn are based upon the actual experience of nations in the past.

The Monroe doctrine, the effect of land and sea power, colonization, immigration, alliances, and disarmament are all discussed from the point of view of their relation to world peace. Authority for statements is given at all times and the ordinary canons of historical scholarship are carefully observed. The book is quite free from errors. The style is clear and forcible and in many places has a very high degree of literary merit.

A few sentences selected from the conclusions give some idea of the matured convictions of the writer. "A United States of the World would relieve mankind of that part of the burden of armaments which is caused by the fear of international war. But no form of government will ever wholly relieve mankind of the danger of civil wars, revolutions, and rebellions and of the necessity of arming against this danger" (p. 549). "Since the beginning of recorded history the world has had to choose between Caesarism and the principle of nationality, between universal despotism and an aggregation of free commonwealths guaranteed and upheld by the principle of the balance of power" (p. 549). "It is desirable that no nation be strong enough to act aggressively abroad; but it is a necessary corollary that each nation should be strong enough to bear its own part of the burden of insuring the safety of all. In the future as in the past, in 2014 as in 1914 the overarmed and the unarmed nations will be a menace to the peace of the world" (p. 550). "It is the sacred duty of every people never to intrust to any hands but their own the perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions" (p. 550). "There is a vast difference between preparedness for defence and preparedness for conquest" (p. 551). "A superior fleet combined with a superior army is an instrument of aggression" (p. 553). "The phrase 'freedom of the seas' has more sound than meaning" (p. 554). "The path to perpetual peace lies not in the domination of one nation over others, nor in World Confederation, nor in arbitration of pretexts for war, nor in neutralizing small states, nor in disarmament, nor in peace dinners and amiability, nor in either republican or monarchical government, but in the mutual guarantee of territorial integrity and independence and equal rights" (pp. 555-556).

The greater part of the work on the volume was done prior to the entry of the United States into the world war. However, there are few volumes that are capable of throwing so much light upon present-day discussions of world peace and the league of nations. A careful study of Colonel Vestal's volume leads to the conclusion that it is the most important treatise on the subject in print and one that all future writers will consult and quote.

An American history. Revised edition. By David Saville Muzzey, Ph.D. (New York: Ginn and company, 1917. 688 p. $1.92)

When Dr. Muzzey's book made its appearance in 1911, it was at once recognized as somewhat of a departure from the more conventional high school text. One of its conspicuous features was the relatively large amount of space given to the period since 1876. Another distinctive feature of the work was the rather fearless manner in which present-day men and measures were discussed.

The present book is not a revision in any accurate sense of that term. It is rather the old book plus a twenty-four-page chapter, which brings the narrative down to April 6, 1917. This new chapter follows the index and is paged in Roman numerals. Since several critical reviews of the older book may be easily obtained, and since the present book differs so slightly from that work, the reviewer considers an extended estimate unnecessary.

The reviewer cannot refrain from saying that such "revisions" are to be deprecated even in the face of the high cost of bookmaking.

D. C. SHILLING

Portraits of American women. By Gamaliel Bradford. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin company, 1919. 276 p. $2.50)

Eight studies are included in this volume of portraits. The characters treated are Abigail Smith Adams, Sarah Alden Ripley, Mary Lyon, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Louisa May Alcott, Frances Willard, and Emily Dickenson, a group representative of New England rather than of the country at large. The treatment is scarcely biographical; rather the author has portrayed the finished character, and in each case has surely and skillfully caught the elements that made the personality. There are many well-chosen quotations which give the reader a pleasant illusion of actual acquaintance with the characters.

The career of Leonard Wood. By Joseph Hamblin Sears. (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1919. 273 p. $1.50)

The author does not attempt in this small volume an intensive study of the life and character of his subject. The book is rather a series of sketches in which Leonard Wood plays the changing rôle of Indian fighter, Washington official, organizer and leader of the rough riders, governor-general of Cuba, and major general in the United States army. The last chapters are devoted to an account of Wood's activities in connection with the late war.

Great emphasis is laid upon Wood's ability as organizer, administrator, and statesman. The author is betrayed by his enthusiasm into occasional extravagances of statement. For example, he characterizes Wood's work in the Philippines as "the greatest achievement any man has accomplished in Colonial history." The statement is certain to be challenged from many points. There are frequent irrelevancies. It seems scarcely worth noting twice that Cape Cod (Leonard Wood's birthplace) is "in the shape of a doubled-up arm with a clenched fist as if it were ready at any moment to strike out and defend New England against any attack that might come."

America's tomorrow. By Snell Smith. (New York: Britton publishing company, 1919. 385 p. $2.00)

To the person interested in the modern application of ancient prophecies this book should appeal tremendously. The author devotes himself to the theory, which he reënforces chiefly by countless references to the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, that America is to be the great power of the world, and that the year 1938 is to see the achievement of its supremacy. He advocates war as a "transition from a lower to a higher civilization," and urges the annexation of Mexico and the union of Canada and the United States. A federation of the world, modeled on the government of the United States, is approved. The last chapter is given over to an interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel. The book is a combination of the visionary and the unjudicial, written evidently in haste and under the influence of strong emotions.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

In October the directors of the mint issued the new "pilgrim half dollars" bearing on one side the head of a typical pilgrim and on the reverse a view of the *Mayflower*. These coins are to be obtained from banks throughout the country.

The archaeology of Sheboygan county is the topic of the August, 1920, issue of the *Wisconsin archaeologist*. The report was prepared by Alphonse Gerend, M.D.

Members of the department of history of the University of Chicago have issued a new edition of the *Manual for the study of European history* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1920. 51 p. $.78), covering a period from the fall of the Roman empire to the world war.

The palimpsest for October, 1920, maintains the reputation established by the first three numbers of this little magazine. The editor, John C. Parish, contributes an account of Father Mazzuchelli, and, in the "Mosaic" which closes the number, tells what is known of Clinton Parkhurst, whose "Few martial memories" forms the chief body article.

The Jackson number of the *Southern historical society papers* (new series, number 5, September, 1920) contains two long articles, one by Captain James Power Smith entitled "With Stonewall Jackson," the other by Lieutenant Colonel William Allan on "Jackson's valley campaign."

Walter Lippmann's *Liberty and the news* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920. 104 p.) contains two essays which appeared first in the *Atlantic monthly*, and an introductory essay called "Journalism and the higher law." The danger to democracy from a self-appointed arbiter of thought, namely the newspaper, is emphasized. Incidentally these essays make some suggestions as to the value of newspapers as source material for historians.

C. B. Galbreath's "Lafayette's visit to Ohio valley states" and a number of contemporaneous "Tributes to Lafayette" form the major portion of the July, 1920, number of the *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly*. Short sketches of the new executive mansion at Columbus and the manner of its acquisition by the state, and of the Ohio

buckeye complete the issue except for reviews, notes, and comments by the editor.

The June, 1920, issue of the *Indiana magazine of history* has a biographical sketch, by Martha Turner Morris, of Christopher Harrison, a mysogynist Marylander who went to Indiana in the early part of the nineteenth century, there to become somewhat prominent in the public life of the community. The concluding installment of Charles E. Ganup's "Temperance movement in Indiana" carries the tale from the seventies to the present day, and Elmore Barce begins an account of "The savage allies of the northwest" by a "general view of the tribes."

A bibliography on the Kensington rune stone is found in the October, 1920, issue of the *Catholic historical review.* This bibliography was prepared by the Reverend Francis J. Schaefer, D.D., of St. Paul, Minnesota, who contributes also a note summarizing the investigations and accounts of this famous stone. Of general interest is the leading article by the Reverend William Henry Kent, O.S.C., on "Catholic truth and historical truth," a discussion of an article with the same title written by Mr. C. C. Coulton, which appeared a few years ago in the *Contemporary review.*

The *Southwestern historical quarterly* for October, 1920, contains a continuation of A. K. Christian's biography of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, an article on "The Hayes administration and Mexico," and the twelfth installment of the "Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1831," which is edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker. Mr. Lewis' article has a peculiar interest in view of the fact that during the Hayes administration the United States and Mexico were upon the verge of war, and many of the factors now complicating relations between the two countries find a counterpart in the late seventies.

The Chicago historical society commemorates "Gold star honor year" in its *Annual report for the year ending October 31, 1919,* by publishing brief biographical sketches and portraits of "Gold star sons of members of the Chicago historical society." Accessions to the library during the year include several manuscripts, among which may be noted "an exceedingly interesting group of political and war letters from Grant, Greeley, Logan, Trumbull, Yates, and others," the gift of Dr. O. L. Schmidt.

The *Publications of the State historical society of Wisconsin,* edited by Milo M. Quaife (Madison, 1920), has, in addition to routine material, an account of the work accomplished and under way by the research and

publication divisions. The latter calls attention to the progress made in bringing out the constitutional series, and announces a "comprehensive history of early Wisconsin during the French, British, and early American régimes," now in preparation by Miss Kellogg. The Wisconsin war history drive is described, and the report of the legislative survey of the society, made in the spring of 1919, is printed in full.

In addition to articles strictly in the field of Latin-American history, the *Hispanic American historical review* for August, 1920, has two features of a more general character in William Wheatley Pearson, Jr.'s, "Alberdi's views on the Monroe doctrine" and Edward Perry's note on "Central America and the Monroe doctrine." The bibliographical section contains the first part of "Hispanic American bibliographies," compiled by C. K. Jones, and a critical account of "The press of Mexico," by Walter F. McCaleb. The latter points out that prior to the Diaz régime Mexico contained "no press . . . in the true sense of the word," and proceeds to examine the characteristics of newspapers which have played a part in Mexican affairs down to the present day.

On October 15 and 16, 1920, the Ohio valley historical association held its thirteenth annual session jointly with the Ohio history teachers' association at Columbus. Two numbers of the varied program of the first session dealt with "New England influences on Ohio's public school system," by E. A. Miller, and "Educational beginnings in West Virginia," by J. M. Callahan. The second session was devoted entirely to different aspects of history teaching, while in the last session were given Professor K. S. Latourette's presidential address on "A history teacher's confession of faith," and W. H. Siebert's presidential paper entitled "The future of the Ohio valley historical association."

The *Bulletin des recherches historiques* for July and August, 1920, contains, in two installments, M. de Bourlamaque's "Mémoire sur le Canada," a document preserved in the provincial archives of Quebec. The memorial was transmitted to the ministry of marine at Paris in 1762, having been prepared by the writer, who had been one of the "principal lieutenants of the marquis of Montcalm in the war of 1755 to 1760," after his return to Europe. A penetrating analysis of the economic, military, and political policy of France in the new world is concisely put for the possible guidance of the home government. The August number also contains a sketch of "Le general Moreau et la guerre de 1812." The September issue of this publication has an article on "Les familles de nos gouverneurs français," as well as a copy of a letter from the intendant Duchesneau to the marquis of Seignelay, son of Colbert, dated November 13, 1681.

In the *Proceedings of the American antiquarian society at the annual meeting held in Worcester, October 15, 1919*, there is an article by Frederick J. Turner on "Greater New England in the middle of the nineteenth century." "Greater New England" includes all parts of the United States into which New Englanders have carried their customs and ideals; furthermore, by establishing western contacts, "lesser" New England was itself broadened and deprovincialized. "She gained her life by losing it." Barrett Wendell's "A gentlewoman of Boston, 1742-1805," is a lively account of Catherine Wendell, largely based upon her letters. George H. Haynes contributes a discussion of "The conciliatory proposition in the Massachusetts convention of 1788."

"Past and present trade routes to the Canadian northwest," an article by Frederick J. Alcock, member of the geological survey of Canada, in the August, 1920, number of the *Geographical review*, contains much of interest to those dealing with the northwest of the United States as well as to those concerned with Canadian development. A sketch of trade routes of past times is combined with a description of present conditions in the region under consideration. Reference is made to penetration of the upper Mississippi valley by fur traders and others, and some account, in so far as the scope of the article demands, is given of routes as far south as the Missouri river. There are numerous illustrations which add to the attractiveness of the study.

In the issue of the *Virginia magazine of history and biography* for January, 1920, there is printed a series of declarations, adopted at a "General meeting of the freeholders of the county of Mecklenburg on the 29th day of July, 1774," expressing views on the right of the crown to levy taxes in America. The document was found among the papers of Colonel Robert Burton of Granville county, North Carolina. Colonel Burton was one of the persons interested in the Transylvania land company and in 1775-1776 he visited Boonesborough and the Kentucky lands purchased from the Cherokee. The other items in the number are, for the most part, Virginian, but several of the documents reprinted are of value to the student of colonial history in general.

One hundred years of statehood are celebrated in the "Missouri centennial number" of the *Missouri historical review* (October, 1920). The table of contents indicates the wide range of subjects: "The travail of Missouri for statehood," by Walter B. Stevens; "Missouri in 1820," by Jonas Vilas; "A century of journalism in Missouri," by W. V. Byars; "A century of literature," by Alexander Nicolas Demenil; "A century of transportation in Missouri," by Edward J. White; "Labor and industry in Missouri during the last century," by Lee Meriwether; "So-

cial customs and usages in Missouri during the last century," by Mary Celia Owen; and "Social reform in Missouri during the last century," by George B. Mangold. A vast deal of information interesting to both the student of Mississippi valley history and the general reader is packed into this portly number, which is to be followed by another (January, 1921) with the rest of the centennial articles.

The *Year book of the Louisiana society Sons of the American revolution for 1919-1920* (New Orleans, 1920) contains, in addition to the customary summary of the society's activities during the year, list of members, et cetera, much interesting material of a more general nature than one expects to discover in such a publication. A report of the progress made in research, begun by the society a year ago, in the history of Louisiana during the governorship of Don Bernado de Galvez, includes a selection from Gayarré's *History of Louisiana.* Copies of several documents from the general Indian archives at Seville afford new available material for Louisiana history. Translations of Spanish records bearing on the capture of Mobile in 1780, obtained by Miss Ysabel Pearl of the Electric appliance company, are useful. Furthermore, full reproductions of reports from Miss Irene Wright relating to her investigations at Seville not only add to information on revolutionary Louisiana but give evidence of the wealth of material still to be obtained from the archives of Spain.

The *Smith college studies in history*, edited by John Spencer Bassett and Sidney Bradshaw Fay, recently added to the list of exchanges of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, brings out in the fourth number of volume v (July, 1920), a thesis by Edith Anna Bailey entitled "Influences toward radicalism in Connecticut, 1754-1775." The theme of this study is the Susquehanna colony and the forces in Connecticut which led to the formation of a company of adventurers and colonizers for the purpose of penetrating and settling the wilds of Pennsylvania. As an illustration of Professor Turner's view of the ever-advancing wave of pioneers pushed on both by an inward urge and by conditions in the more settled community, this paper deserves a place in the literature of westward expansion. In it are brought out not only the actual facts about the attempted colony, but also the underlying religious, economic, and political radicalism, tinged with imperialism, surging in certain portions of the "land of steady habits." The clash of colonial expansionism and British policy, which formed one of the moving causes of the American revolution, is likewise portrayed.

In *The writing of history: an introduction to historical method* (New Haven: Yale university press, 1920. 195 p. $2.00), Professor Fred

M. Fling has produced a book "for college students who are beginning their studies in historical research, for teachers of history who have had no critical historical training, and for students of history who are hoping to find in private study some compensation for opportunities not enjoyed in college." One might add that the work will not be out of place upon the shelves of those who have had somewhat wider experience in handling historical materials. The successive chapters deal with the choice of a subject, criticism of the first-hand sources as to their genuineness and localization, and of the second-hand sources as to their dependence and reliability, the establishment of the facts, the grouping of the facts, and exposition. Professor Fling uses illustrations, taken for the most part from the period of revolutionary France, which bring out admirably the points which he is trying to drive home, and make alive historical research. A brief critical bibliography suggests other works with which the student may delve further into the subject. With this little book Professor Fling has contributed something to "drive the 'history fakir' from the field of historical writing and the untrained history teacher from the schoolroom."

Despite paper shortage and printers' wages the publishers seem to be able to put forth a number of books calculated to help the American to understand himself in these days of unsettled opinions and unsettling clashes of ideas and ideals. Typical of this breed of writings are *Everyday Americans*, by Henry Seidel Canby (New York: The century company, 1920. 189 p.), and *The new frontier: a study of the American liberal spirit, its frontier origin and its application to modern problems*, by Guy Emerson (New York: Henry Holt and company, 1920. 314 p.). Both men agree that the real spirit of America is liberal. Mr. Emerson finds that it is to the same forward-looking, hopeful liberalism which subdued the continent that one must look for the solution of present economic and social problems. Professor Canby, while admitting that Americans are traditionally liberal, opines that the habitat of the conservative-liberal is America: "he [*the conservative-liberal, i.e., the average American*] is a revolutionary turned policeman, a progressive who stands pat upon his progress." He glories in the radicalism of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln each for his own times, but stands aghast when it is suggested that either of the two would look upon present-day problems and their solution in any but a conservative frame of mind. "In practice he is still full of initiative and invention; in principle he can conceive of only one dispensation, the ideas of political democracy which were the radicalism of 1861 and 1840 and 1789 and 1776."

Both books are thought-provoking. Professor Canby, moreover, by the epigrammatic brilliancy of his style constantly drives home truths

which thinking people have more or less formulated for themselves and which they delight to find expressed so satisfactorily. The student of history finds in each, and in other works of a similar character, something which helps him to dig a little deeper into at least a portion of the welter which is about and from which he must, at a later day, attempt to construct his interpretation of the age.

Mr. I. R. Hudson, instructor in history and political science in Vanderbilt university, has been advanced to the grade of assistant professor, and Professor Frank Lawrence Owsley, of Birmingham college, has been appointed assistant professor of history in Vanderbilt university.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. VII, NO. 4 MARCH, 1921

CLENG PEERSON AND NORWEGIAN IMMIGRATION

Three historical problems relating to the genesis of the Norwegian immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century have long confronted students of this subject. The first has to do with Cleng Peerson and his influence upon that great migration which in the ninety-five years since 1825 has brought more than seven hundred thousand Norwegians to this country. The second is concerned with the relative importance of religious and economic factors in bringing about the first important group emigration from Norway to America. The third problem relates to the significance of the emigration of 1825 with respect to the movement as a whole. Some writers describe Peerson as the "father of the Norwegian immigration to the United States," representing him as the "advance agent" of the immigrants of 1825, the pathfinder for Norwegian settlement in the west, and the most influential leader of the entire movement in its earlier stages.[1] Others picture Peerson as a tramp, whose

[1] Svein Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 102-104; Rasmus B. Anderson, *The first chapter of Norwegian immigration (1821-1840) its causes and results. With an introduction on the services rendered by the Scandinavians to the world and to America* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1904), 54-131, 179-193; Anderson, "Kleng Peerson, the father of Norwegian immigration," in *American-Scandinavian review*, 8: 502-509; Anderson, "The first Norwegian settlements in America, within the present century," in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1898 (Madison, 1899), 150-167; Hjalmar R. Holand, *De norske settlementers historie; en oversigt over den norske indvandring til og bebyggelse af Amerikas nordvesten fra Amerikas opdagelse til Indianerkrigen i nordvesten, med bygde-og navneregister* (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1909), 33-46, 95-99; Nordahl Rolfsen, ed., *Norge i Amerika; livsbilleder fra nordmændenes liv og historie i de Forenede Stater* (Kristiania, 1915), 137-145; Knud Langeland, *Normændene i Amerika. Nogle optegnelser om de Norskes udvandring til Amerika* (Chicago, 1889), 10-20; E. O. Mörstad, *Elling Eielsen og den evangelisk-lutherske kirke i Amerika* (Minneapolis,

influence was insignificant, who had very little to do with the coming of the Norwegians in 1825, and whose general importance has been much exaggerated.[2] As to the motives of the pioneers of 1825, some writers liken the movement to the migration of the pilgrim fathers who, escaping persecution in the old world, sought religious and social freedom in the new.[3] Others assert not only that the economic motive was the dominant one, but that religious persecution had virtually nothing to do with the matter.[4] On the third question it is maintained by some that the Norwegian immigration really began in 1836, and that the movement of 1825 was practically without effect upon the immigration as a whole.[5] Others attempt to trace, however, a direct and important connection between the earlier and the later movements.[6] On the triple problem Dr. O. N. Nelson wrote in 1904, "The lack of documentary evidence in the case is so obvious that no writer has been able to reproduce, or even to mention, a single original document in support of his assertions or theories."[7] Though not literally correct, this

1917), 76 ff.; Holand, "Nybygger-skisser. Den første norske emigrant i vesten," in *Symra*, 2: 93-112.

[2] Olof N. Nelson, "The first Norwegian immigration, or the sloop party of 1825," in *History of the Scandinavians and successful Scandinavians in the United States*, compiled and edited by Olof N. Nelson (Minneapolis, 1904), 1:125-134p; Throud J. Bothne, "Kort udsight over det lutherske kirkearbeide blandt Nordmændene i Amerika," in Hallvard G. Heggtveit, *Illustreret kirkehistorie . . . Gjennemseet af professor dr. theol. A. Chr. Bang. . . . Med et tillæg om norske kirkeforholde i Amerika af Th. Bothne. . . .* (Chicago, 1898), 821-829; Johannes B. Wist, *Den norske indvandring til 1850 og Skandinaverne i Amerikas politik* (n. p., [1889]), 13-17.

[3] The best statement of this view is Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 54-131, 217-218.

[4] Nelson has argued strongly for this view in his "The first Norwegian immigration, or the sloop party of 1825," in *History of the Scandinavians in the United States* (Nelson, ed.), 1:125-134p. Compare Kendric C. Babcock, *The Scandinavian element in the United States* (University of Illinois Studies in the social sciences, volume 3, number 3 — Urbana, 1914), 22-25, 39-40.

[5] Bothne, "Kort udsigt over det Lutherske kirkearbeide blandt Nordmændene i Amerika," in Heggtveit, *Illustreret kirkehistorie*, 821-829; Wist, *Den norske indvandring til 1850 og Skandinaverne i Amerikas politik*, 16-17; Nelson, "The first Norwegian immigration, or the sloop party of 1825," in *History of the Scandinavians in the United States* (Nelson, ed.), 1:125-134p.

[6] Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 77-198 ff.; Holand, *De norske settlementers historie*, 33-99. Compare Babcock, *Scandinavian element in the United States*, 29 ff.; Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billedmagazin*, 1: 18-19; Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 16 ff.

[7] In *History of the Scandinavians in the United States*, 1: 126.

statement indicates sufficiently the lack of contemporary sources on the subject.[8] New evidence has recently come to light which makes possible a fresh consideration of the entire question. In the present article an attempt is made to evaluate the historical significance of Cleng Peerson; incidentally, however, it is believed that definitive evidence is produced with respect to the second and third problems.

The problem of Cleng Peerson is complicated by the fact that he had a curious and eccentric personality. "Much has been written about this pathfinder in the West," writes Professor Flom, "and romance and legend already adorn his memory."[9] While it is probable that an investigation of archival materials in Norway will yield additional evidence and will aid in stripping away the "romance and legend," a sifting of the sources now available permits the correction of some common misconceptions. Of the early life of Cleng Peerson little is known. He was born in 1782 on a farm called "Hesthammer," in Tysvaer parish, Skjold district, Stavanger *amt,* a short distance north of the city of Stavanger, Norway.[10] His name appears originally to have been Kleng Pedersen Hesthammer, but in his later years he invariably called himself Cleng Peerson.[11] He is rumored to have traveled considerably as a young man, particularly in England, France, and Germany.[12] Not until 1821, when Peerson was a man of thirty-nine years, did he become associated with the Norwegian immigration movement. In the

[8] Mr. Anderson, for example, produces verbatim in his *First chapter of Norwegian immigration,* 69-76, a number of interesting accounts in New York newspapers and others describing contemporaneously the arrival at New York in 1825 of the sloop *Restoration.* To these might be added an interesting notice in *Niles' weekly register,* 29: 115.

[9] George T. Flom, *A history of Norwegian immigration to the United States from the earliest beginning down to the year 1848* (Iowa City, 1909), 48.

[10] See O[luf] Rygh, *Gaardnavne i Stavanger amt. Oplysninger samlede til brug ved matrikelens revision. Udgivne med tilföiede forklaringer af Magnus Olsen* (Kristiania, 1915), 91, 427, 446; Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration,* 179.

[11] See, for example, *Democraten* (Racine, Wisconsin), September 7, 1850. The Norwegian spelling "Kleng" was Americanized as "Cleng." The last name appears variously as "Pedersen," "Pederson," "Peerson," "Peersen," "Persen." The use of the name of the *gaard* Hesthammer, from which Peerson came, is uncommon.

[12] Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin,* 1: 104; Holand, *De norske settlementers historie,* 33.

summer of that year, together with Knud Olsen Eide, from the island of Fogn, Peerson journeyed from Stavanger to New York by way of Göteborg.[13] There has been some disagreement as to the purpose of this trip. According to one account he had married in Norway a wealthy and elderly widow with whom he became involved in such serious domestic difficulty that he practically fled, going first to Göteborg, where he heard a great deal about America, and then to New York.[14] Another version of the matter is that Cleng Peerson and Knud Eide were sent to the United States as agents of a group of Quakers in Stavanger who desired to find a place of refuge where they might worship God without suffering any restrictions or persecutions at the hands of state officials.[15]

The leader of this society of Quakers was Lars Larson. Having been taken prisoner by the English in the Danish war of 1807, he was held in England until 1814, and remained one year thereafter in the employ of Margaret Allen, a prominent Quaker woman and the mother of William Allen, the Quaker missionary. Larson returned to Norway in 1816 as a converted Quaker, and, together with some friends, organized a society of Friends in the city of Stavanger.[16] In 1818 impetus was given to the movement by the visit of Stephen Grellet and William Allen, Quaker missionaries, to Norway.[17] It is of interest

[13] Theodore C. Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2: 240; Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 104; *Nordstjernen: et national demokratisk blad* (Madison, Wisconsin), July 22, 1857. A signed statement by Cleng Peerson is here printed. See *post*, note 80.

[14] Ansten Nattestad's account of Cleng Peerson, as quoted by Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 102-103. Nattestad was a well-known pioneer of 1837 who was personally acquainted with Peerson. Compare Theodore C. Blegen, "Two Norse argonauts: Ole and Ansten Nattestad," in *The north star*, 1: 420-422; 2: 18-21.

[15] Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 102-104. Anderson, Holand, Flom, Mörstad, and others accept this view, while it is rejected by Nelson, Bothne, and Wist.

[16] See the account in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 46-47. The whole subject of the rise of the Quakers is dealt with in George Richardson, *Rise and progress of the Society of Friends in Norway* (London, 1849), especially chapters 1 and 2. See also *Life of William Allen with selections from his correspondence* (London, 1846), 1: 364-365.

[17] Stephen Grellet, *Memoirs of the life and gospel labors of Stephen Grellet* (Philadelphia, 1862 [?]), 360-366. See *Life of William Allen with selections from his correspondence*, 1: 361-370.

to note that Grellet, a French nobleman who had taken refuge in America during the French revolution and there had been converted to Quakerism, had lived in the United States for twelve years.[18] Grellet probably described to his Norwegian friends conditions in America. It is reasonable to suppose, also, that these Quakers gave some thought to the new world as an ideal land with respect to religious liberty, particularly as their faith was causing them trouble, if not persecution, in Norway.

The history of Norway is relatively free from religious persecution.[19] Abundant evidence proves, however, that in the first four decades of the nineteenth century dissent and separatism were rather harshly dealt with by the government and the established church. Hans Nielsen Hauge, the leader of a laymen's movement in protest against the "rationalism and secularization then prevalent among the clergy of Norway,"[20] was imprisoned from 1804 to 1814.[21] His followers, largely peasants, were not separatists, but their relations with the established Lutheran church and with the government were strained, and the death of Hauge in 1824, regarded as a result of his imprisonment, doubtless intensified this feeling of mutual distrust.[22] The Quakers, to a greater extent than the Haugians, were subject to annoyance and interference by the state church and by secular officials. "Their children and those of other dissenters," writes Dr. Babcock, "must be baptized and confirmed in the

[18] Grellet, *Memoirs of the life and gospel labors of Stephen Grellet*, 18 ff. In 1822 the Stavanger Quakers were visited by an English missionary, Thomas Shillitoe, who remained in the vicinity for about a month. His interpreter at the meetings which he held was "a young man from New Bedford, in North America." Shillitoe not long after his Norwegian trip went to America. That he was interested in America is clear from his attitude toward two German Quakers who were stranded in Bergen. Richardson writes, "T. Shillitoe became so deeply interested for these persons that he got forward a subscription at Bergen, to help them over to America." Richardson, *Rise and progress of the Society of Friends in Norway*, 42, 47, 50; article on Thomas Shillitoe in the *Dictionary of national biography* (New York, 1885-1903), 52: 108; Alexander Lange, *Provst Alexander Langes optegnelser om sit liv og sin samtid 1792-1863* (Christiania, 1905), 156-158.

[19] Anton C. Bang, *Den norske kirkes historie* (Christiania, 1912), especially 436 ff. Hallvard G. Heggtveit, *Den norske kirke i det nittende aarhundrede* (Christiania, 1905-1911), volume 1.

[20] Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 48.

[21] Anton C. Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid* (Christiania, 1874), 369; Heggtveit, *Den norske kirke i det nittende aarhundrede*, 1:313 ff.

[22] Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans samtid*, 483-488; Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian people* (New York, 1915), 2: 404, 445 ff.

Lutheran church; they must themselves attend its services and pay taxes for its support, or suffer fines or other punishment for failing so to do."[23] Added to this situation was the possible consequence of the refusal of the Quakers to do military service and to take oaths. It is certain that these conditions caused discontent and that the position of the Quaker in Norway was far from pleasant. This fact must be given consideration in studying the antecedents of the immigration of 1825. On the other hand, it may be admitted at once that the Quakers of Stavanger were humble and poor. The sect gained no headway among the well-to-do. Consequently economic advantages were of great importance to such Quakers as were contemplating emigration.

Cleng Peerson remained in America from 1821 to 1824. A newspaper article published shortly after the arrival of the immigrants of 1825 constitutes the most definite bit of information on this period. This item, presumably obtained either from Peerson himself or from some member of the immigrant party, says:

> Two agents were originally sent over by the company and funds appropriated to defray the expense. These funds, we understand, were placed in the hands of a man, who was afterwards unfortunate in business. They then found themselves in a strange land, among a people of different laws, customs, and language, with all of which they were unacquainted. Determined notwithstanding to fulfill the object of their mission, they resolutely set out on their enquiries, laboring with their own hands to defray their expenses. They proceeded in this manner until one was seized with a malady which brought him to his grave. During all the time of his sickness his confederate, independent of watching by his bedside and performing those kind offices so necessary to the comfort of a dying man, procured the best medical attendance, still laboring with his own hands for his support and debarring himself of the comforts of life, to

[23] Babcock, *Scandinavian element in the United States*, 24. "In the year 1821, Elias Tasted was brought under justice process for not having buried two of his children in ground that was consecrated. For this, he was sentenced to pay five specie dollars . . . a day until he should dig his children out again, and inter them in the consecrated burial ground, and follow the outward ceremonies and customs of the state church. But when this sentence came under the review of the king, Elias Tasted was entirely acquitted." Quoted from a letter written by a Friend in Stavanger, in Richardson, *Rise and progress of the Society of Friends in Norway*, 36-37 and note. See R. Tveteraas, *Stavanger 1814-1914* (Stavanger, 1914), 118-120, in which an interesting account is given of the rise of the Quakers in that city.

administer to the necessities of his friend. After the decease of his friend, the survivor left as he was solitary and alone, proceeded on foot to examine the country, the character of the different soils, our mode of agriculture, engaging without any hesitation at any kind of employment to meet the current expenses of the day, by which means he obtained a knowledge of our customs, laws, language and agriculture. In this manner he scoured the vast regions of the west and left a journal from day to day,[24] which in due time he transmitted to the company, by whom he was sent to make the examination.[25]

As to precise details this account may be unreliable. Its nature and the circumstances of its publication leave no room for doubt that in essentials it tells the truth. From another source it is now possible to corroborate the statement that Peerson, during his first sojourn in the United States, went as far west as the western part of New York, at least.[26] That the trip was a preliminary investigation undertaken for the Quaker society at Stavanger does not seem to be open to question.[27]

In 1824 Peerson returned to Norway and reported to his Stavanger friends on conditions and prospects for immigrants in the United States. In the summer of this year, if not before, a group of Norwegians in and about Stavanger definitely determined to emigrate. It is probable, however, that not a few persons outside the Quaker sect became interested in the prospect of emigration to America as a result of the return of Cleng Peerson and his stories of his experiences and observations, and that herein lies the explanation of the fact that when the emigration finally occurred in 1825, the party contained a

[24] This is the only reference that the writer has ever seen to such a journal.

[25] *New York American*, October 22, 1825, quoting from the *Baltimore American*. The extract was published in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 73-75.

[26] See *post*, 310-311, and note 31.

[27] Elling Eielsen, the famous Norwegian pioneer preacher, who was very familiar with the situation of dissenters in Norway (being himself a zealous Haugian), told Svein Nilssen in 1869 that Peerson and Eide were Quakers, sent by the Friends of Stavanger in 1821 to investigate conditions in America. Their expenses, he declared, were paid by the Quakers of Stavanger, and possibly, in part, by English Quakers. The explanation of this mission, according to Eielsen, was to be found in the spirit of religious intolerance which prevailed at that time in Norway. This piece of evidence, confirmatory in essentials of the newspaper article quoted above, was published long before any controversy had arisen with respect to Peerson and the migration of 1825. Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 104.

considerable number of persons who were not Quakers. That the original impulse came from the Quakers remains, nevertheless true.

It has been commonly supposed that Peerson remained in Norway until 1825 and then crossed to New York by way of Göteborg. That he was not a member of the famous "sloop party" and that he met the immigrants of 1825 when they arrived at New York are two facts that have long been known. Dr. Nelson asserts that the "sloop folk" met Cleng Peerson in New York in 1825 purely by accident and that Peerson had returned to America without any knowledge whatsoever of the preparations for departure which were being made in Stavanger and its vicinity. Scouting the view that Peerson was the "advance agent" of the group, Dr. Nelson says, "If he had been the real instigator of the movement and the chief organizer of the party, it seems he would have accompanied the emigrants across the ocean."[28] The truth of the matter is that Peerson returned to America in 1824. That he did not accompany the emigrants was, under the circumstances, the best proof that he was their advance agent. Recently a manuscript copy of a letter written by Cleng Peerson came to light. This copy was made by Thormod Madland in Stavanger, Norway, on June 28, 1825, a few days before Madland sailed for America as a member of the sloop party.[29] Peerson's letter, as indicated in the copy, was dated New York state, December 20, 1824. He informed his "father, brother, sister, brother-in-law,[30] and friends," that after a journey of six weeks he had arrived in good health at New York where he was received very cordially by his friends. With his companion on this trip, Andrew Stangeland, he remained in New York City for five days, and then left by steamer for Albany. The two travelers then worked their way to Troy and, via the Erie canal, to "Salia Salt Works" and Farmington,

[28] Nelson, "The first Norwegian immigration, or the sloop party of 1825," in *History of the Scandinavians in the United States* (Nelson, ed.), 1: 134k.

[29] The writer a short time ago learned of the existence of this letter in the possession of Mr. Martin Mauritzon of Chicago. Through the generosity of Mr. Mauritzon and of Mr. Alfred Adsem of Minneapolis, the letter has been presented to the Minnesota historical society. *Minnesota history bulletin*, 3: 371.

[30] Peerson's brother-in-law was Lars Larson, the organizer and leader of the Society of Friends in Stavanger. Chapters 2 and 3 of Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, contain much interesting information about Larson.

where Peerson had friends — interesting evidence of the fact that during his first stay in America, from 1821 to 1824, he had visited western New York. Leaving his comrade, Peerson walked to Geneva, New York, to purchase land from the land commissioner at that city both for himself and for his friends in Stavanger.[31] He wrote: "The land commissioner is very friendly, and has promised to aid us as much as he can. We arrived at an agreement in regard to six pieces of land which I have selected, and this agreement will remain effective for us until next fall."

Peerson had a house under construction which he expected to complete by New Year's day. This house, he said, was "on the site selected for you whose arrival I am awaiting"; but in the spring he intended to build on his own land. While in Rochester he had bought a stove and suitable accessories. He already owned, in addition to five acres of land which he intended to clear in time for the spring sowing, a cow, for which he had paid ten dollars, and some sheep. "I have informed you of the prices of all things in Knud Eie's letter,"[32] he wrote. His letter indicated great eagerness for the arrival in America of his Stavanger friends whom he planned to meet in New York. He had secured promises from "the friends in Macedon" to care for his sister and others until cabins with sufficient room to house the party should be built. He encouraged the prospective immigrants to have faith in the promises which he had made them while in Norway, and to put their trust fully in providence. "You must not allow yourselves to be frightened away by talk," he said. "I spoke with many persons in New York in regard to selling the vessel. You will certainly be able to dispose of a

[31] The town of Farmington was in Ontario county, New York, a short distance from Geneva. That Peerson had established connections with Quakers at this place is practically certain. Farmington was in fact a Quaker community. The whole township had been bought by a society of Quakers in 1789. C. F. Milliken, *A history of Ontario county, New York, and its people* (New York, 1911), 1: 321. "The majority of the early settlers and nearly all the pioneers of Farmington were Friends." *History of Ontario county, New York, with illustrations and family sketches of some of the prominent men and families,* edited by George S. Conover, compiled by Lewis C. Aldrich (Syracuse, 1893), 392. Madland, in making his copy, read Farmington as "Faningtown."

[32] On Knud Eide, Peerson's companion on his first trip to the United States, see Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration,* 60 ff.

small ship, but the law forbids the sale of a large one.[33] Therefore do whatever seems best to you. Young persons can easily cross to London and from there to New York for thirty dollars. My friends in New York have promised to do all in their power to sell the vessel as advantageously as possible. On the other hand, if you could invest your money in Swedish iron, and hire a vessel, that would accomplish the same end." He asked them to acquaint him with their plans in good time, and closed by exhorting them all to deal with each other in a spirit of brotherly love, to grasp the "need of help and salvation from the hand of the Almighty," and to heed "His call and admonitions."

This letter proves clearly that Cleng Peerson was the advance agent of the immigrants of 1825, that he was directly urging the enterprise and encouraging its backers, that he arranged in 1824 for the purchase of land for his friends, that he was attempting to arrange for the sale of their ship should they purchase one for the journey, that he had received coöperation and promises of aid from a group of friends in New York City, who are known to have been Quakers,[34] and from acquaintances in western New York, that he made active preparations for housing the immigrants when they came, that his comrade on this journey was Andrew Stangeland,[35] and that, far from being a scoffer and an atheist, he evidenced at this time a pious, religious attitude.[36] Thus the letter makes entirely untenable the views of Nelson and others who have maintained that Cleng

[33] This is a possible explanation of the fact that when the immigrants of 1825 arrived, they came in a very small vessel, so small indeed that it was confiscated by the authorities for violation of the federal law of 1819 limiting the number of passengers to two to each five tons of the ship. Babcock, *Scandinavian element in the United States*, 26; Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2: 241. Macedon, the village referred to by Peerson, was a short distance north of Farmington, in Wayne county.

[34] That Quakers in New York did lend active assistance to the sloop folk when they arrived in 1825 is well known. Rynning wrote of this aid in his book on America published in 1838. Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2:241-242.

[35] Stangeland was long supposed to have been one of the fifty-three passengers on the *Restoration* in 1825. Attention may be directed here, also, to certain erroneous conclusions in Flom, *History of Norwegian immigration to the United States*, 49-50.

[36] This conflicts with the traditional views on this particular point. See *post*, 327, and notes 96, 97, 98.

Peerson had no direct influence upon the first important Norwegian emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century. That he was indeed the trail-blazer and advance agent for the sloop folk, and that his name stands properly at the head of the list of Norwegian immigrant leaders of the last century, can no longer be disputed.

The story of the coming of the Norwegians in 1825 — the beginning of the great Scandinavian exodus of the nineteenth century — has often been told.[37] Only a brief summary need be presented here. Fifty-two in number, the party left Stavanger in the summer of 1825. A small sloop and a cargo of iron had been purchased. On October 9, after a trip of fourteen weeks, the vessel reached New York.[38] The voyage had been circuitous, the vessel having touched at Madeira, and having then sailed to New York by way of the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico.[39] Some of the experiences and adventures that befell the group of immigrants aboard this ship, the *Restoration,* as it was called, were long a favorite theme among the Norwegian pioneers.[40] When they finally arrived at New York they were met by Cleng Peerson. The immediate problems were to sell the ship, to proceed to the interior, and to prepare for the win-

[37] Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin,* 2: 240-243; Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billedmagazin,* 1:102-104; Nelson, "The first Norwegian immigration, or the sloop party of 1825," in *History of the Scandinavians in the United States* (Nelson, ed.), 1: 125-134 p.; Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika,* 10-13; Flom, *History of the Norwegian immigration to the United States,* 45-54. The most detailed account is in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration,* 54-131. See also C. A. Tingvold, "The first Norwegian emigrants in America," in *The north,* August 10, 1892.

[38] *New York Commercial Advertiser,* October 10, 1825. There were fifty-three passengers when the *Restoration* arrived, one having been born on the way. *New York Daily Advertiser,* October 12, 1825. The notices in these newspapers are reproduced in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration,* 69-71.

[39] *Vestlandet* (Stavanger, Norway), October 25, 1910.

[40] Holand states that the story of these experiences was first told by Johannes W. C. Dietrichson in his *Reise blandt de norske emigranter i de forenede nordamerikanske fristater* (Stavanger, 1846). This is inaccurate. So far as is known, Ole Rynning, *Sandfaerdig beretning om Amerika til oplysning og nytte for bonde og menigmand* (Christiania, 1838), contains the first printed version of the affair. Compare Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin,* 2: 240-241. The wording of Dietrichson's account indicates that he secured all his information on this particular matter from Rynning's book, and not from immigrants, as Holand maintains. Holand, *De norske settlementers historie,* 37 and note.

ter. Peerson's connections in New York stood the party in good stead at once.[41] Ole Rynning wrote a few years later:

It created universal surprise in New York that the Norwegians had ventured over the wide sea in so small a vessel, a feat hitherto unheard of.[42] Either through ignorance or misunderstanding the ship had carried more passengers than the American laws permitted, and therefore the skipper and the ship with its cargo were seized by the authorities.[43] Now I can not say with certainty whether the government voluntarily dropped the matter in consideration of the ignorance and child-like conduct of our good countrymen, or whether the Quakers had already at this time interposed for them; all I am sure of is that the skipper was released, and the ship and its cargo were returned to their owners. They lost considerably by the sale of the same, however, which did not bring them more than four hundred dollars. The skipper and the mate settled in New York. Through contributions from the Quakers the others were enabled to go farther up into the country. Two Quakers in the company established themselves in Rochester. One of these, Lars Larson by name, lives there still.[44] The others bought land in Murray,[45] five miles northwest of Rochester.[46]

Difficulties and hardships fell to the lot of the settlers in the next five years, but they persevered and eventually established themselves on a firm footing.[47]

On the problem of the motives back of this emigration of 1825 the foregoing account throws some light. Attention is here called to an official source of information on the early emigration from Norway which adds much to our understanding of this as well as of many other phases of the whole subject.[48]

[41] Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 72.

[42] Compare the interesting extracts from contemporary New York newspapers in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 69-76.

[43] See Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2: 241, note 37.

[44] See *ante*, 306, and note 16. Compare Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2: 242, note 38.

[45] In Orleans county, New York.

[46] The passage quoted is from Rynning, *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika*, chapter 2. Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2: 241-242.

[47] *Ibid.*, 242. Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 72.

[48] *Kongeriget Norges ellevte ordentlige storthings forhandlinger i aaret 1845. Første deel, indeholdende kongelige propositioner og meddelelser litr. A og B. samt no. 1-9*

On November 8, 1843, the finance department of the Norwegian government, with a view to solving some difficult problems which had arisen in connection with the increasing emigration from Norway, proposed that a commission be authorized by the king to investigate carefully the whole emigration problem and to prepare a draft of a law for government regulation of the movement. Three men were appointed members of this commission: F. C. Borchsenius, the *amtmand,* or sheriff, of Bratsberg *amt,* a region from which emigration had been particularly heavy; J. Gasmann, vice consul and broker in Porsgrund; and Dr. F. C. Faye, a distinguished physician of Skien.[49] These men were very well suited for the task of investigation for they had already, by virtue of their official positions and places of residence, been in close touch with the emigration from the southwestern districts of Norway. On December 27, 1843, the commission presented a report to the king explaining the need of legislation in order to eliminate some of the evils attendant upon the emigration, and including an elaborate draft of a law.[50] With the history of this attempt to legislate with regard to Norwegian emigration we are not here concerned.[51] The interesting thing to note is that on December 15, 1844, the commission presented to the king a supplementary report in which were discussed the causes, origin, extent, and general nature of the emigration movement up to that time.[52] This document bears the marks of careful preparation. It is based not only upon the personal observations of its authors, but also upon special reports from ministers of the Norwegian church, from bailiffs, from surveyors of the customs, and from chiefs of police.[53] A special

(Christiania, 1846). Number 6 of the documents included in this volume is entitled: "Angaaende udvandringer til fremmede verdensdele." This document, sixty pages in length, deals exclusively with the emigration from Norway to the United States.

[49] "Angaaende udvandringer til fremmede verdensdele," in *Kongeriget Norges ellevte ordentlige storthings forhandlinger i aaret 1845*, 1: 1-5.

[50] *Ibid.*, 7-19.

[51] While the *storthing* in 1845 rejected the proposed law, the government turned its attention to ameliorating some of the conditions which caused discontent and emigration, and in 1845 was passed a "dissenter law" which gave freedom of worship to the Quakers.

[52] "Angaaende udvandringer til fremmede verdensdele," in *Kongeriget Norges ellevte ordentlige storthings forhandlinger i aaret 1845*, 1: 23-42.

[53] *Ibid.*

report on emigration prepared by officials in Stavanger *amt* on April 20, 1837, for the finance department, was also used by the commissioners.[54] Furthermore, they collected a large number of letters and diaries of immigrants in America who had sent them to their friends and relatives in Norway. This report of 1844 was made public and is preserved in the official publications of the Norwegian *storthing*. Unfortunately, the letters and journals of immigrants, making at least fifty appendixes to the report, were not printed.[55]

Along with many important contributions to our knowledge of the early Norwegian emigration movement,[56] this official report, used in conjunction with other sources now available, offers what will probably be accepted as a definitive explanation of the relative weight of religious and economic factors in the first important Norwegian migration, and of the significance of this migration of 1825 in connection with the later movement.[57]

The conclusions of the royal commissioners may be summarized as follows:

1. The migration of the sloop folk from Stavanger in 1825 led directly to the emigration in 1836 and 1837 and consequently to the whole movement as it broadened in scope after 1836. The connection is found in the gradual dissemination in Norway of information concerning the enterprise initiated in 1825, in the special influence of immigrants upon their relatives who remained in Norway waiting for news, in the effect of

[54] The Stavanger report of 1837 was probably based in part upon an investigation by the Reverend Nils Herzberg, who at the request of the *amtmand* of the district made an inquiry into the causes and extent of the emigration. Herzberg's report, dated July 6, 1837, consisted chiefly of a number of typical "America letters," including one written by Gjert G. Hovland. A transcription of this report, made from the original in the local archives at Ullensvang, Norway, was recently acquired by the Minnesota historical society. See Theodore C. Blegen, "The America letters," in *The north star*, 2: 44, and note. O. Olafson, "To Amerikabreve fra 1835," in *Nordmands-forbundet*, 4: 265-271.

[55] These appendixes are presumably preserved in manuscript in the government archives at Christiania, Norway.

[56] The statistics as to numbers of emigrants, districts from which they came, and the discussion of causes, will make necessary a considerable revision of the conclusions of American investigators of the Norwegian immigration movement.

[57] The portion of the document dealing with this subject is based primarily upon the special report from Stavanger *amt*, referred to above, the very place from which the sloop folk came. "Angaaende udvandringer til fremmede verdensdele," in *Kongeriget Norges ellevte ordentlige storthings forhandlinger i aaret 1845*, 1:24-25.

encouraging and informative letters from friends in the Norwegian settlement in the United States — letters that were read, copied and recopied, and circulated widely among the discontented classes of Norway, and that were popularly known as "American letters" — and finally in the widespread influence of returned immigrants, or "America travelers."[58]

2. The men and women who left Norway for America in 1825 were, in part at least, Quakers. As such they were discontented — and had good cause to be discontented — with their treatment by officials of state and church under Norwegian laws. Their faith was at least a contributory (*medvirkende*) motive in leading them to emigrate to a country "where complete religious liberty prevails."[59]

3. "On the contrary it is not to be assumed that political or social conditions have had any direct influence upon the decisions of later emigrants who left Stavanger Amt in 1836 and 1837. The latter were motivated by the favorable reports which have been received from the first emigrants as to the economic advantages offered by a country where 'they believed they could easily establish themselves upon land which they expected to obtain at little or no cost, and where, as farmers, they might attain happier circumstances in the future.' And those who

[58] "Angaaende udvandringer til fremmede verdensdele," in *Kongeriget Norges ellevte ordentlige storthings forhandlinger i aaret, 1845*, 1: 24. In connection with these points the following studies by the present writer may be referred to: "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2: 222, 242, 243; "Two Norse argonauts: Ole and Ansten Nattestad," in *The north star*, 1:420; "The America letters," *ibid.*, 2:43-45, 75-77. Of an "America traveler" of 1835, Babcock writes, "From near and from far, from Stavanger, from Bergen and vicinity, and from the region about Christiansand, people came during the long northern winter, to talk with this experienced and wordly-wise man about life in New York or in Illinois — or, in their own phrase, 'i Amerika.' There before them at last, was a man who had twice braved all the terrors of thousands of miles of sea and hundreds of miles of far distant land, who had come straight and safe from that fabulous vast country, with its great broad valleys and prairies, with its strange white men, and stranger red men. The 'America fever' contracted in conferences with Slogvig and men of his kind, was hard to shake off." *Scandinavian element in the United States*, 31-32.

[59] "Angaaende udvandringer til fremmede verdensdele," in *Kongeriget Norges ellevte ordentlige storthings forhandlinger i aaret 1845*, 1: 24-25. Richardson, in his work on the Norwegian Quakers, written in 1849, points out that several of the "little company" of Stavanger Quakers went to America in order "to avoid afflictions in bearing the cross." Richardson, *Rise and progress of the Society of Friends in Norway*, 52. Of the eight individuals who made up the first Stavanger Quaker "meeting of discipline," four afterwards emigrated to America, according to Richardson. *Ibid.*, 27 and note. See also a statement on page 124.

were skilled in a trade were confident that they could earn their livelihood by means of their previous training."[60] It is admitted in the report, however, that possibly, even in 1836 and 1837, a few individuals may have been motivated by dissatisfaction with the treatment of dissenters, especially Quakers, in Norway.[61]

The commissioners stressed the importance of the fact that the first emigration was occasioned by intolerance in the treatment accorded the Quakers, and discussed carefully the question of the Norwegian constitution and laws in respect to religious worship, reaching the conclusion that these laws needed revision, especially because of their effect upon the status of Quakers.[62]

In considering the general causes underlying the later movement, the commissioners doubtless presented the truth in a nutshell when they said: "It must, however, be admitted without question, that even though the first sprouts of the migrations must be sought to a certain extent in imperfections in the law, which have produced dissatisfaction among certain individuals, their growth in recent times is the result of other causes, especially of the common need, affecting the great majority of the emigrants, of seeking a less difficult existence in a new country."[63]

There is no record of travels by Peerson in the period from 1825 to 1833. He seems to have remained during these years in the Norwegian settlement in New York. The experiences of the settlers convinced him that the west offered better possibilities than the east for Norwegian immigrants. In 1833, therefore, he started from Kendall, New York, on a pedestrian journey to the west in search of suitable lands for settlement by the Norwegians. His travels took him into Ohio, across Michigan,

[60] "Angaaende udvandringer til fremmede verdensdele," in *Kongeriget Norges ellevte ordentlige storthings forhandlinger i aaret 1845*, 1: 25.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *Ibid.* See *ante,* note 51.

[63] *Ibid.* In general the migration of the Quakers and their associates in 1825 acquires added importance as the background, motives, and influence of that movement become clearer. The historical importance of the pathfinder of that migration, Cleng Peerson, is likewise increased in proportion to the significance of the movement as a part of the general emigration from Norway.

and through northern Indiana to Illinois. It has been asserted that he walked as far north, along the shore of Lake Michigan, as Milwaukee, where he met the founder of that city, the famous fur-trader, Solomon Juneau, who in response to his inquiry informed him that Wisconsin land was heavily forested and entirely unsuitable for settlement.[64] If Peerson did visit the trading post of Milwaukee, he made his way back to Chicago without delay. In Illinois he selected a site which determined the location of the first Norwegian settlement in the west, and which gave great impetus to the westward migration of the Norwegians. This was the Fox river region, in the town of Mission near Ottawa, in La Salle county, Illinois. Peerson, some years later, in describing the manner of his choice said that while on a walking trip from Chicago he came to a hill overlooking the Fox river valley. Almost exhausted from hunger and fatigue, he threw himself on the grass and thanked God for directing his steps to such an attractive land. In his enthusiasm he forgot temporarily his hunger and weariness, while his thoughts turned to Moses and the promised land.[65]

Peerson trudged back to the Norwegian settlement in New York; he had walked, as it appears, considerably more than two thousand miles since he started on his pilgrimage to the west. That he doubtless did describe the west to his compatriots as a sort of promised land is evidenced by the fact that in 1834, under his leadership, an advance guard of several persons from the New York settlement went out to Illinois and settled in the Fox river valley in La Salle county.[66] Larger numbers came

[64] Holand, *De norske settlementers historie*, 43-44. Mr. Holand gives no reference to his authority. On Peerson's trip, see Flom, *History of Norwegian immigration to the United States*, 52-53; Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 171 ff; Langeland, *Normændene i Amerika*, 18 ff. When he left New York, Peerson had two companions, one of whom, Ingebrigt Larson Narvig, went no farther than Monroe county, Michigan. What became of the other is not known. Narvig was a staunch Quaker and in many respects a remarkable pioneer figure. Compare Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 141 ff.

[65] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 18-19. The story was told to Langeland by Peerson in Norway in 1843. Langeland was a prospective emigrant, and Peerson, in trying to picture America as favorably as possible, may have invented the tale. Langeland's simple statement of the affair seems to have given rise to numerous elaborate accounts of what is termed "Cleng Peerson's dream," some of them very artistically embroidered with imaginative details.

[66] Gjert G. Hovland, in a letter written on April 22, 1835, states that six families

from the east in 1835, and in 1836 and 1837 the colony in Illinois was augmented by large groups of immigrants who came directly from Norway.[67] Peerson is usually credited with having met and guided the immigrants of 1836 to the west. With respect especially to Illinois and the west, Mr. Anderson does not overstate the case when he thus writes of Cleng Peerson: "He led the way in the settlement of the Norwegians on American soil, and thousands of natives of Norway and their descendants now occupying happy and luxurious homes in the Fox river valley owe their prosperity and happiness in part at least to the leadership and efforts of that remarkable man."[68] The Fox river settlement, moreover, became a center from which radiated many of the later settlements of the Norwegians in the middle western states.

Land records show that Cleng Peerson bought at least two hundred and forty acres of land in the settlement in June, 1835. At least eighty, and perhaps one hundred and sixty, acres were purchased by him for others, his relatives.[69] Though he usually bought land in the settlements which he founded, he was not in fact a real farmer. The necessary patience and industry to remain in one place and achieve success Cleng Peerson lacked utterly. He usually waited until a start had been made and the settlement was well under way toward civilization and progress, and then he left in search of new locations, new frontiers, perhaps new adventures. He was in truth, as has been said, a "Viking who was born a few centuries after the Viking period."[70] There was about him something of that "scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and in-

of the Norwegians who had settled in New York sold their land and moved to Illinois in the summer of 1834. He adds that the eight families remaining in the New York settlement desired to sell their land and go west as soon as possible. A transcript of this letter is in the manuscript collections of the Minnesota historical society. Many details relating to the establishment of the La Salle settlement may be found in Flom, *History of Norwegian immigration to the United States*, 55-63, 89-96.

[67] Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 170 ff. Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2:222 and notes.

[68] *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 176.

[69] Original land records at Ottawa, Illinois, were examined by Mr. Anderson, and are printed in his *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 175-176.

[70] O. N. Nelson, "Bemerkning til Prof. Andersons indledning," in *Amerika*, May 2, 1894.

difference to its lessons," which Professor Turner says have accompanied the American frontier.[71]

Two years after his purchase of land in Illinois, Cleng Peerson led a party of settlers from Illinois to Shelby county, Missouri.[72] That this migration, in the spring of 1837, was preceded by a trip by Peerson alone seems very probable. The colony established at this place seems not to have thrived. "It was too far removed from other settlers, too far from a market; the settlers suffered want and became discouraged."[73] Most of the settlers moved about the year 1840 to a new location, the so-called Sugar creek settlement in Iowa. Peerson purchased eighty acres of land in Shelby county, but probably made no serious attempt to cultivate it.[74] One year later he returned, for the second time, to Norway, with the purpose of bringing out settlers for his Missouri venture. He reached Norway in 1838 and spent the winter of 1838-1839 in the southwestern part of that country. In 1839 he returned again to the United States as the leader of a party of immigrants, most of whom came from the region of Stavanger. This group Peerson conducted to Missouri by way of Cleveland and the Ohio river, a journey that was attended, in this case, by many difficulties and inconveniences.[75] Shortly after Peerson's return the majority of the settlers in Shelby county moved to the Sugar creek settlement in Iowa.

The evidence as to Cleng Peerson's connection with the first Norwegian settlement in Iowa is conflicting. Dr. Flom states that Peerson was probably the first Norwegian to enter Iowa, since he had passed through the southeastern corner of that state on his way to Missouri; but he does not credit Peerson with any important relation to the Iowa settlement on the ground that he did not actually settle in Iowa.[76] Mr. Anderson

71 Frederick J. Turner, "The significance of the frontier in American history," in Wisconsin historical society, *Proceedings*, 1893, p. 112.

72 Flom, *History of Norwegian immigration to the United States*, 125 ff. Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 2: 247, note 48.

73 Flom, *History of Norwegian immigration to the United States*, 125.

74 Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 187.

75 *Ibid.*

76 *History of Norwegian immigration to the United States*, 190-192.

says that Peerson was sent by the other settlers in Missouri to inspect the land in Iowa and that the result of this investigation was the founding of the new settlement in 1840.[77] Reiersen, in his *Veiviser,* published in 1844, writes that Hans Barlien and a man named Tesmann were "presumably" the founders.[78] It is probable, however, that Barlien was influenced by Peerson. Mr. B. L. Wick presents the name of Peerson as one of the most important names in connection with the Iowa settlement, but does not explain his assertion.[79] Cleng Peerson himself, about 1851, in a letter published in a Norwegian newspaper, stated that he had lived in the states of New York, Illinois, Missouri, and *Iowa.*[80] It is safe to conclude that he had an active connection with the Iowa settlement.

In 1842 Peerson made a third visit to Norway and spent the winter of 1842-1843 in that country. Most of the time was passed in the vicinity of Stavanger, where he disseminated information about America, told of his travels, described conditions in the Norwegian settlements in the United States, and distributed letters which he had brought with him from immigrants in America to their friends and relatives. In May, 1843, he sailed from Bergen for New York on the vessel *Juno,* which carried a party of eighty emigrants. They took the usual route to Illi-

[77] *First chapter of Norwegian immigration,* 186-187. Anderson bases his statement on a published account by one of the original settlers, but does not give a reference to the source.

[78] J. R. Reiersen, *Veiviser for norske emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske stater og Texas* (Christiania, 1844), 157. Tesmann was one of the immigrants who came from Norway with Peerson in 1839. A little book of twenty-seven pages was published in Stavanger in 1839, under the title: *Kort beskrivelse over de vigtigste erfaringer under et ophold i Nord-America og paa flere dermed forbundne reiser.* The author was Peter Tesmann, one of Peerson's comrades. It is probable that this was the man to whom Reiersen referred. So far as the writer knows no copy of this book is to be found in America. He is at present pushing an inquiry for it in Norway.

[79] B. L. Wick, "The earliest Scandinavian settlement in Iowa," in *Iowa historical record,* 16: 21-29.

[80] *Nordstjernen,* July 22, 1857, from *Hamars* budstikke (Norway), 1850-1851. This newspaper contains a signed statement by Cleng Peerson in which he advocates Texas as a place for settlement. Introductory to this is the sentence: "The undersigned came to the United States in August, 1821, and has resided in the states of New York, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, and now lives in Texas where I arrived a little more than two years ago. I have, moreover, traveled a great deal in the United States so that I know right well the conditions in this country."

nois, and Peerson served as the guide of at least a portion of them on the way to the west.[81]

In 1847, Cleng Peerson, now a man of sixty-five years, having sold his land in Missouri, joined the famous communistic settlement in Henry county, Illinois—the Swedish Bishop Hill colony.[82] He is reported to have contributed to this society the money which he had received from the sale of his farm lands. He now evidenced a purpose to settle permanently and to renounce his nomadic habits. His wife in Norway, from whom he had been separated since 1821, had died some years before Peerson arrived at the Bishop Hill colony. He now married a young Swedish woman, a member of the communist settlement. His second marital venture seems to have been a short and bitter experience, for shortly after his marriage he departed from both the colony and his Swedish wife, and returned to the Fox river settlement. He is reported to have said that he left the Bishop Hill colony "robbed of all he possessed, and sick in body and mind."[83] The Fox river colony, which he had founded in the thirties, had become a large and prosperous settlement. Reiersen noted that in 1844 it had about six hundred inhabitants, most of whom had already passed the initial pioneer stage, lived comfortably in good houses, and were in an independent position.[84] One might reasonably suppose that Cleng Peerson, now past sixty-five years of age, would have settled permanently and have passed the remaining years of his life in this flourishing settlement of his own choice. But he was still a restless seeker for new fields.

He had long been interested in Texas as a possible site for a Norwegian settlement. When Reiersen came to America in

[81] Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 52, 59. Letter from O. Canuteson to R. B. Anderson, December 16, 1894, quoted in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 188-189.

[82] An entertaining account of his connection with the Bishop Hill colony is in Holand, *De norske settlementers historie*, 96 ff. There are no references to sources, however, and the reliability of the description seems to be open to question. Compare Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 189.

[83] *Ibid.*, 189. In a letter to Mr. Anderson written by a niece of Cleng Peerson, it is implied that Peerson during his several visits to Norway tried to induce his wife to come to America with him but that she declined. *Ibid.*, 183.

[84] Reiersen, *Veiviser for norske emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske stater og Texas*, 152.

1842, Peerson advised him to make a colonization effort, and spoke very favorably of Texas in this connection.[85] In 1849, apparently recovered from the ill effects to body and mind of his brief experience with communism, Peerson set off for Texas. During his investigations in that state he visited John Nordboe, a Norwegian settler with whom he had previously become acquainted, and who lived a short distance south of Dallas. When he returned to La Salle county in 1850 he was "full of Texas fever."[86] In a letter written on August 20, 1850,[87] Peerson says that he recently returned from Texas where he had spent the preceding winter and spring. He had traveled considerably in the vicinity of the Eros and Brazos for a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles, and on both sides of the Trinity, particularly on the west side for a couple of hundred miles north and south. He describes the land, the quality of the soil, the climate, the crops, and the prospects for cattle and sheep raising. He had visited the Norwegian settlement in eastern Texas but did not approve of the choice of land, though he concedes that they raised fairly good crops. The following sentence is characteristic: "But I can not approve of the method of settlement practised by the Norwegians in establishing themselves so closely together instead of spreading out more so as to have greater freedom in their sphere of action." He regrets to hear that thousands of Norwegian immigrants were settling in northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, while, only a thousand miles to the south, better land and a more favorable climate gave distinct advantages to Texas over these northern regions. He writes in this letter that he intends to return to Texas in the following September.[88]

With some countrymen Peerson left Fox river in the fall of

[85] Martin Ulvestad, *Normændene i Amerika, deres historie og rekord. Bidrag til og bindeled mellum Norges historie og nord-amerikas — de Forenede Staters i särdeleshed* (Minneapolis, 1907-1913), 1: 197-198.

[86] Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 189-190.

[87] The letter was written at Norway, La Salle county, Illinois, to Knud Langeland, and was printed in full in the latter's newspaper, *Democraten*, September 7, 1850. A file of this rare newspaper is in the library of the Luther theological seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[88] Peerson, curiously enough, made no reference to slavery in discussing the case for Texas. One of the most potent reasons why the Norwegian settlements in the southwest never gained any considerable headway was the deep-rooted hostility of the Norwegians toward slavery. See Blegen, "Ole Rynning's true account of America,"

1850. The party went south to New Orleans by way of the Mississippi river, then west on the Red river to Shreveport, and from there, with oxen, to Dallas county, Texas.[89] Mr. O. Canuteson, in a letter dated December 16, 1894, thus describes this Texas venture: "In 1850, my father, with his family, came to my uncle, Halvor Knudson, in Illinois. My mother had died from cholera between Chicago and Ottawa. In Ottawa, we found Kleng Peerson, just back from Texas, and on his advice, and on his promise to be our guide, we concluded to go to Texas. He stayed with us the three years we lived in Dallas county, and when we moved to Bosque county in 1854, he came with us, not as the leader then, but as a follower, being too old to undertake leadership any more. The last years of his life he had his home with O. Colwick, but would of course, go around among his neighbors, where he was always welcome and felt at home."[90] A son of Mr. Colwick has described Cleng Peerson's life in these last years. Peerson's power as a story-teller, his vision of the future, and his peculiar *penchant* for preceding the advance of civilization into new regions on the frontier particularly impressed this young listener. That the man was eccentric was easily forgiven, for he was at the same time very kindly and accustomed to serving others unselfishly without thought of compensation. According to T. T. Colwick, the Texas state legislature presented Peerson with a gift of three hundred acres of land in Neils, Bosque county, in appreciation of his services as a pioneer leader.[91]

in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 3:257, and note; Babcock, *Scandinavian element in the United States*, 157-160.

[89] The account of T. T. Colwick in Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika, deres historie og rekord*, 1: 200.

[90] Letter quoted in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 190.

[91] Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika, deres historie og rekord*, 1: 201. The actual amount of land given Peerson was three hundred and twenty acres. An act passed on August 13, 1856, required the commissioner of the general land office to issue a patent to "Cling Pearson" for this amount. *Special laws of the sixth legislature of the state of Texas* (Austin, 1856), chapter 121, p. 53. On the Norwegian settlement in Bosque county, Texas, in this period, see C. W., "Beretning om de norske setlementer i Texas," in *Billed-magazin*, 2: 75. On the settlement in general, see "Det norske setlement i Meridian, Bosque county, Texas," in *Emigranten*, September 5, 1859. Compare *Nordstjernen*, July 22, 1857. A recent description is Axel Arneson, "Bemerkninger om norsk indvandring til Texas og om Bosque settlementet isaerdeleshet," in *Nordmands-forbundet*, 5: 94-105.

On December 16, 1865, Cleng Peerson, then almost eighty-four years of age, died. A monument on his grave, placed there in 1876 by his countrymen in Texas, has engraved upon it the following words: "Cleng Peerson, the first Norwegian immigrant to America. Came to America in 1821. Born in Norway, Europe, May 17, 1782. Died in Texas, December 16, 1865. Grateful countrymen in Texas erected this monument to his memory."[92] His Texan countrymen did not, of course, know that many Norwegians had come to America long before Cleng Peerson was born.[93]

The activity of Peerson, with its geographical and time range, may be indicated in the following summary:

Born in Norway	1782
To America	1821
In New York state as agent of Norwegian Quakers	1821–1824
To Norway (Stavanger and southwestern parts)	1824
To America, and from New York City to western New York, to prepare for the arrival of the immigrants of 1825	1824
To New York City to meet the sloop folk and conduct them to western New York	1825
Walking trip to the west: New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, possibly Wisconsin, and back to New York. Object: to find a site for a Norwegian settlement in the west	1833
From New York to Illinois; the founding of the Fox river settlement	1834
To New York City and return. Object: to guide the immigrants of 1836 to the west. (Not fully verified)	1836
To Missouri. The founding of the Shelby county settlement	1837
To Norway	1838

[92] The funds were raised by public subscription. Anderson, *The first chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 191.

[93] J. O. Evjen attempts to prove that no fewer than one hundred and eighty-eight Scandinavians settled in New York before 1700, fifty-seven of whom were Norwegians. *Scandinavian immigrants in New York, 1630-1674; with appendices on Scandinavians in Mexico and South America, 1532-1640, Scandinavians in Canada, 1619-1620, Scandinavians in New York in the eighteenth century, German immigrants in New York, 1630-1674* (Minneapolis, 1916).

To America and the west: Cleveland, the Ohio river, and the Missouri river	1839
To Iowa	about 1840
To Norway	1842
To America and the west	1843
Missouri and Iowa	1843–1847
Bishop Hill colony, Illinois	1847
Fox river settlement, Illinois	about 1849
To Texas. Object: investigation with a view to a site for a Norwegian settlement	1849
To La Salle county, Illinois	1850
To Dallas county, Texas, via New Orleans and Shreveport, with a company of emigrants	1850
Near Dallas, Texas	1850–1854
Bosque county, Texas	1854–1865
Died in Texas	1865[94]

Ansten Nattestad, who knew Cleng Peerson personally, describes him as a marvelous story-teller. The hospitality of the pioneer homes was always gladly extended to Peerson, for a visit by him always meant interesting tales of travel and of strange places, of visits home to Norway; in short, his coming meant entertainment and instruction. Tradition represents him as a kindly and generous man, ever ready to be of assistance where help was needed, whose aid was appreciated the more because of his tales of travel, his droll stories, and his queer personality.[95] It has been asserted that he "lacked the religious temperament," although he was strongly attracted by the tenets of Quakerism.[96] The assertion is hardly supported by the evidence in Peerson's letter of 1824, but in his later years he appears to have become a pronounced "freethinker," with little or no respect for the clergy and the church.[97] In earlier years he

[94] The summary given above is concerned only with journeys in some way related to the Norwegian immigration to America. A tradition among the pioneers who knew Cleng Peerson credits him with journeys to England, France, and Germany in his youth. See *ante*, 305, and note 13. That he made many other journeys in America, not here recorded, is possible, and indeed probable.

[95] Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1:102-103.

[96] Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 55.

[97] O. Canuteson, who was an intimate friend of Peerson from 1850 to 1865, wrote,

associated with Quakers, but his own relationship to Quakerism is uncertain.[98] In the forties he was attracted for a time by communistic ideas, particularly as practiced in the Bishop Hill colony, but he was quickly disillusioned by his experience in that settlement.

There can be no doubt that Cleng Peerson was generally impecunious. The pioneer tradition represented him as always having in his pockets at least two shillings, so that he might never be called penniless. He was an itinerant, something of a nomad; he possessed some of the characteristics of a vagabond.[99] But it must not be forgotten that he was not aimless. In truth, he appears to have been actuated constantly by the high aim of searching out favorable places for settlement by Norwegian immigrants, and he served again and again as a leader, a guide, and an instigator of movements of immigration to America and to the settlements in the west in the future of which he had faith. He usually owned land, even though he did not actually cultivate it. However impecunious he may have been, it is unlikely that he ever openly begged.[100] The probable truth of the matter is that he profited, to an unusual degree, by that bountiful hospitality so natural to frontier settlements and so particularly generous to a man of Cleng Peerson's broad experience and eccentric personality.

Peerson was restless, unstable, a lover of adventure, perhaps a victim of *wanderlust*. "He was something of a Peer Gynt," writes Dr. Flom, "but without Peer Gynt's selfishness or his eye for the main chance; the roving spirit dominated Peerson wholly; not until old age had laid its hand on him did he yield

"He was the most pronounced freethinker I have ever known. . . . He believed little or nothing of the Bible, especially of the supernatural part thereof. Whether he at any time had belonged to the Quakers, I can not say positively, but time and again I heard him talk about them as models in religious and temporal matters, and I heard him talk about getting . . . aid and comfort from Elias Tastad of Stavanger, Norway, he being their leader in that city." Quoted in Anderson, *First chapter of Norwegian immigration*, 192.

98 Elling Eielsen does state definitely that Peerson was a Quaker at the time he was sent to America in 1821. Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 104.

99 *Ibid.*, 103. Throndˆ Bothne curtly disposes of Peerson as a tramp, but he fails so completely to recognize the real significance of Peerson's career that this characterization is of little value. "Kort udsigt over det lutherske kirkearbeide blandt nordmændene i Amerika," in Heggtveit, *Illustreret kirkehistorie*, 822.

100 Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1:103.

to the monotony of a settled life; but even then in the wilderness of Texas in the fifties."[101] The same writer states that he "took no part in the upbuilding" of this Texas community, that he took "no active interest in its progress," and that "in a settled community he alone was unsettled; he was never able to gather himself together into concentrated action and prolonged effort in a definite cause or undertaking. A vagabond citizen, he died in poverty."[102] Dr. Flom overlooks the interesting fact, however, that this poverty was of Peerson's own choosing, due to his advanced age; for in Texas he owned half a section of good land and some other property, but he gave all this to Mr. Colwick on the condition that the latter should care for him until his death.[103] Cleng Peerson was interested in a "definite cause," and to its advancement he devoted "prolonged effort." While his career doubtless did not exemplify "concentrated action," it was nevertheless sufficiently consistent to possess a considerable degree of unity, especially from 1821 to 1850.[104] In the fashioning of that career, restlessness, lack of stability, and love of change and of adventure no doubt played their part. Perhaps, indeed, if these be human weaknesses, Peerson may be said to have won through his frailties the significant position which he occupies in the history of Norwegian immigration to America, for these qualities seem to have made of him the pathfinder that he was. They were united, however, with a definite and philanthropic purpose:[105] the desire to aid his countrymen, burdened

[101] Flom, *History of Norwegian immigration to the United States,* 125-126.

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika, deres historie og rekord,* 1: 201.

[104] To attempt to apply the standards of a successful farmer to a man who was only incidentally a farmer is obviously a mistake.

[105] To the unselfishness of Peerson's services many testimonials have been given. Only one unfavorable contemporary criticism of Peerson has been found. A letter from H. Gasman, of Pine Lake, to Reiersen, January 12, 1844, mentions Cleng Peerson as a type of man to be avoided, if possible, by immigrants. It says that Peerson, while pretending to assist the emigrants who accompanied him from Norway in 1843, actually defrauded them, and was rewarded by getting a sound whipping at the hands of the indignant emigrants. Reiersen, *Veiviser for norske emigranter til de forenede nordamerikanske stater og Texas,* xxvi. This charge is made much of in Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in the United States,* 126-134k. It is carefully omitted in Holand's eulogy of Peerson in *Symra,* 2: 93-112. It conflicts with the invariable testimonies to Peerson's honesty and philanthropic purposes which Nilssen gathered when he visited old pioneers on a quest for historical materials in 1868. Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin,* volumes 1 and 2. The ex-

by an old-country economic status which limited their opportunities and circumscribed their lives, to find a sphere of labor in the United States in which they might achieve happiness and prosperity. Never content to remain in one place and win the ordinary rewards of patient work, Cleng Peerson traveled back and forth across the Atlantic, and trudged from frontier to frontier, always searching for desirable lands, and leading to these lands groups of settlers who possessed the qualities which he lacked, who founded settlements, who built homes, and conquering the wilderness to which they came, achieved that prosperity which was the lodestar that had drawn them to the west. Professor Svein Nilssen, who published in 1869 and 1870 the results of numerous interviews and extensive researches in the old settlements, declares without qualification that Cleng Peerson exercised a greater influence upon the early Norwegian immigration and settlement than any other man.[106] He asks what would have been the course of events had there been no Cleng Peerson. Certainly the Norwegians would have come to the United States and to the west had there been no Cleng Peerson to lead the way. Such a hypothesis, however, can not diminish the historical importance of the actual leader.

Cleng Peerson was the pathfinder for the first group emigration from Norway to the United States. He was the leader of the vanguard of the great Norwegian migration to the American west. His incessant travels, his reports of conditions, and his personal influence affected the course and gave impetus to the progress of the whole movement in the first twenty-five years of its history. He may with truth be called the trail-blazer of

planation of the charge is simple. Himself an immigrant of 1843, Langeland, not aware of any charge made against Peerson in this connection, states that the party fell into the clutches of a forwarding company in New York. He specifically states that *Peerson was the only one of the group* who warned the emigrants that they should have nothing to do with this company, and that if they did they would be cheated. Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 59.

[106] "Despite his faults and shortcomings, Cleng Peerson was certainly the right man to head the movement. Unsteady though he was, none could deny him honor and uprightness. He was good hearted and always prepared to help others. . . . Though he was extremely poor personally, yet none succeeded better than he in alleviating the needs of others, doing this by securing the intercession of others. He was always a faithful friend of the needy and suffering." His goal was "to work with all his power for the temporal happiness of his fellow-beings." Nilssen, "De skandinaviske setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-magazin*, 1: 103-104.

the earlier Norwegian immigration. To unravel the meshes of legend entwined about his curious personality is difficult. This fact must not, however, be allowed to obscure the historic value of his work with respect to the establishment of the Norwegian element upon American soil.

Theodore C. Blegen

Hamline University
St. Paul, Minnesota

THE NEW NORTHWEST

We have long been accustomed to refer to the old Northwest, the region about the upper Great lakes, as the early frontier in American history. That territory has always been, in the eyes of historians, the classic land of pioneer adventure and Indian romance. It was the first land occupied and conquered by the great Ojibway confederation in its westward expansion from the sea. It was the scene of the heroic exploits of the early missionary explorers, of Du Luth's wanderings, and of La Salle's imperial venture. Over the conflict of claims in a portion of this Northwest the French and the English fought out the right of possession of the entire continent. Here Pontiac and his confederates made their last stand against the conquerors of the French in what was undoubtedly the greatest Indian war against the whites, as far as numbers were concerned, that was ever witnessed. In the early years of American history this region was, therefore, fairly well known to white men, and what went on there has been recorded with a considerable degree of minuteness and accuracy.

But at the outer verge of this historic area lies another region, ten times its size, or as large as the United States without Alaska. This region the writer has chosen to call the new Northwest, partly because it is just tentatively coming into the fringe of recognition by historians and geographers and partly because it belongs both to Canada and to the United States. It extends from the Arctic ocean southward to the mouth of the Missouri river and from Hudson bay and Lake Superior west to the Rocky mountains. Within its limits are four great river valleys—the Mackenzie, the Churchill, the Saskatchewan, and the Red—aggregating a total length of considerably over 7,000 miles. In addition to this there is a lake area of over 75,000 square miles, which compares well with the area of the Great lakes, which is 95,000 square miles. The climate is one of extremes slightly modified by warm Pacific winds. It is a geographical

unit, being an extensive sloping plain somewhat altered by ice action and erosion; its only counterpart is the Russo-Siberian plain that unites Europe and Asia. Here lies the true northwest of the continent, and, formidable because of its size and inaccessibility, it remained for nearly two centuries after the discovery of America all unknown and unexplored, a potential empire beyond the uttermost bounds of civilization.

The animal life of this region was well-nigh as uniform as its geography. From the south came the annual migration of the buffalo, covering the prairie stretches with passing herds totaling millions, reaching their northern limit at the Great Slave lake. A corresponding movement southward of the great caribou herds of the frozen tundras gave to this immense area a food supply as unvarying and persistent as the seasons themselves. The other big game, like the elk, moose, deer, and antelope, filled up the gaps and added variety to the otherwise monotonous procession of wild animals available for food and other uses. Of equal importance, as furnishing the wealth to tempt the hunter and the trader, were the countless fur-bearing animals of the region, the beaver easily leading in number and in value.

Two great Indian groups fought for the supremacy of various portions of this area. The Ojibway met and vanquished the Dakota on the shores of Lake Superior and drove them west beyond the Red river and south of Devils lake in North Dakota. This conflict lasted for over two centuries, and was the most extensive and important purely Indian war recorded in our annals.

Each of these groups fought in a manner characteristic of their training and traditions. The Dakota, or, as they are more commonly called, the Sioux, were skilled in prairie craft and knew the trails over the trackless plains, the springs and lakes, the vegetable and animal food. They knew, too, how to cover their trail by means of prairie fire, and how to drive their enemies out or destroy them by the same means. Little skilled in woodcraft, they were easily driven out of the wooded lake region of Minnesota and across the Red river. Here, however, they rallied, and in turn drove back their opponents from the wind-swept plains of which they had the mastery. The Ojibway

had always occupied a timbered area, well supplied with lakes; with woodcraft and water craft they were familiar; they were expert canoemen, skilled in fishing and trapping. In war they were famous for cleverly laid ambushes, and on the water they easily vanquished their foes; besides this, they first had guns from the French. The Dakota could not hold them back, therefore, so long as they were fighting in the forest tangles they knew so well. The Ojibway developed early various community arts, cloth-making, mat-weaving, and canoe-making; they had pottery, they carved the bone pieces for their games of chance with no little skill, and their literature was rich and varied. Their Metawin ceremony was more elaborately worked out than anything to which the Dakota had attained. When, however, the Dakota were expelled from the plains region about Turtle mountains, the Ojibway, who occupied this wooded fortress that dominated the adjoining prairies, began to lose their knowledge of the ancient woodcraft and village arts of their forefathers, and to take on the lower civilization of the buffalo-hunting plainsmen. But the entrance of the whites put an end to any further independent Indian development in this new Northwest.

Three historic fur-trade routes tapped the wealth of this region: the Montreal or French route by way of the Great lakes and Rainy river; the English or the Hudson bay, Nelson, and Red river route; and last of all, the New Orleans and St. Louis route by way of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers on the road used first by the French and later by the Spanish fur-traders.

The first white nation to penetrate this new Northwest was the French. Champlain's killing the two chiefs of the Five nations in a chance Indian skirmish was not an accident that determined the course of the future French policy toward the Indians. The historians to the contrary notwithstanding, the French rejected a promising Iroquois alliance in favor of the confederated Ojibway. They knew, after a careful review of the situation, that while the Iroquois might some day conquer the whole northwest, especially by means of French aid, this would ruin the fur trade for generations and would engender strife and bitterness which would always be a bar to trade. On

the other hand, it seemed certain if they gave their aid to the Ojibway confederation in their conflict with the Iroquois, especially in view of the extensive territories held by this confederation and of the great number of their allies, that, so long as they treated the Indians fairly, they would be secure in their fur-trade operations in a territory that stretched away to the west and northwest beyond the farthest bounds of exploration.

With so propitious a beginning the French fur-trade operations were, from the first, extraordinarily successful and were extended over a continually widening area of exploitation, and the relations between the French and the Indians, outside the restricted region of the Five nations, remained relatively cordial up to the end of the French occupation of America.

The earliest explorer to break out of the conventional bounds of the old Northwest was Radisson. He had, prior to his northern explorations, gone far south of the Great lakes and had reached a great river, "rolling, majestic, profound," probably the Mississippi, but possibly the Ohio. In 1662 he opened a new era in American history by discovering and exploring the southern coasts of Hudson bay (though this is disputed by many) and by urging at the court of Louis XIV the organization of a royal company to open up the unlimited resources of this new fur-bearing land. After failing here, he went to England and laid the matter before King Charles II and his subjects. The enemies of Radisson have made much of this very natural action of his, holding him guilty of disloyalty to his king and country. But it must be remembered that Charles II, previous to his restoration in 1660, had been the honored guest at the French court and that he thought it not beneath his dignity to receive money regularly from his French brother-in-royalty, Louis XIV, to render it unnecessary to summon so often that fractious parliament which insisted on an anti-French policy. Radisson was, therefore, no more a traitor than the English king himself, when he took part in the organization of the historic Hudson's Bay company. It is not yet susceptible of proof, but there is good circumstantial evidence to show that the location of the York factory at the mouth of Nelson river was no mere lucky accident, but that the site was already known to Radisson, who

passed it on to the new company at the time when he fully expected to receive regular employment and stock holdings in the new venture.

Radisson looms large on the far-off horizon of the early Northwest history; and the undreamed-of possibilities of the Hudson's Bay company, realized in the later centuries, fully justify giving him a high place among those men of heroic mold who wrought so mightily in the days when the continent was young.

Hardly a generation had passed before the wisdom of seizing the unequaled trade advantages of Hudson bay became apparent to all. In the negotiations for the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the English demanded and received as their own not merely all posts on Hudson bay, but all the territory drained by the waters flowing into this bay, as well. Thus at one stroke a vast territory of greater potentiality than any yet held by the French was transferred to their rivals. It is often stated by historians that in the eighteenth century the French claims and settlements in America so completely overlapped and inclosed the small area held by the English that the latter were in danger of being driven into the sea. It would be far nearer the actual facts to state that, title to the remote northwest having passed to the English, further legal extension of French fur-trade interests in that direction was completely barred as far southward as the sources of the Red river. And from the villages of the Five nations in New York and from the hardy populations of the entire Appalachian area a growing English competition was bringing vigorous pressure to bear upon the dwindling fur-trade monopoly of the French in the Great lakes region itself. Furthermore, into the lower portion of the Mississippi valley the English of the Carolinas were constantly pushing their trade; and here also there was danger of Spanish attack from Florida, Mexico, and the growing southwest frontier post of Santa Fe. By the time of the treaty of Utrecht, certainly, the future clearly belonged to the English, both because of the extent of territory actually held by treaty and by settlement, and because of their proved ability to foster and utilize European emigration in the development of the natural resources of the region which had fallen into their hands. This larger strategy of fur-trade competition by which the French were not only outdistanced but also cut off from

future sources of traffic is proof that, by the beginning of the eighteenth century at least, the English had begun to comprehend the importance of this greater Northwest and to occupy thus early its points of vantage.

One Frenchman, at least, foresaw the impending danger of English supremacy and made a well-planned, though unsuccessful, attempt to preserve French power. In 1728, while stationed at Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior, Verendrye heard of a wonderful tribe of white Indians living on a westward-flowing river. On the pretext that he might check the Hudson's Bay company he obtained permission from the local authorities to establish trading posts northwest of the Great lakes. He was successful after six years of arduous toil in establishing a line of posts from Grand Portage on Lake Superior to the present site of the city of Winnipeg, where he built Fort La Rouge. In 1738 he reached his farthest point west on the Assiniboine river, and built Fort La Reine (Portage La Prairie); from this fort he struck off southwest and discovered a village of the Hidatsa, whom he called the "Mantannes." From here he sent forward a day's journey his son, who discovered a westward-flowing river, which the elder Verendrye called the "Montanne." He tells us in his journal that he intended to return and explore this river to the Pacific ocean — for to him there were no Rocky mountains barring the way, and he was sure that he had discovered the road to India and China. His two sons followed up this initial exploration; after crossing the Missouri river at the mouth of the Little Knife in North Dakota, they explored westward to the mountains, and then returned to Fort La Reine. Still later other forts were established and trade was opened along the Saskatchewan to the foot of the Rockies.

Verendrye was a true empire-builder and he understood frontier tactics in the large as few men have. His splendid talents and his unfailing devotion to his purpose served to hold in check the malevolence of his numerous and influential enemies. That he failed may be ascribed to the supineness of the home government and to the timid conservatism and the narrow-minded complacency of the local French authorities. His imperial plan, though barely sketched out on the map of the greater Northwest, first seriously threatened English supremacy in

North America. He all but anticipated Alexander Mackenzie's discoveries and came dangerously near forestalling the Lewis and Clark expedition across country to the Columbia river and the north Pacific coast, to say nothing of the voyages of Simon Fraser and Alexander Henry, Jr., and their fellow explorers. Moreover, his scheme involved the policy of extending the French-Ojibway alliance to include the great Dakota confederacy of the trans-Mississippi country, with all its dependent tribes. It went still farther in its scope and threatened in Texas, if not in Florida, the opening of the entire Mississippi valley (La Salle's old plan) to a trade centering at New Orleans. With the Hudson's Bay company cut off from expansion and driven back upon the barren shores of the bay, and the French possessions filling a considerable part of the middle west, with an outlet to the Pacific trade, the English would be threatened, indeed. The Verendryes, father and sons, accomplished wonders with the meager support accorded them, but during the last years of the undertaking, when government aid would have been decisive, the French were frittering away their national resources in a profitless struggle to assist Frederick the Great in despoiling Austria. Broken in health, burdened by debt, yet fighting against overwhelming odds to the very last, Verendrye died in 1749 and his grand enterprise passed away with him who had given it birth, and who had for so many years championed it single handed and alone.

The collapse of the French power in 1763 did not materially change the nature of the fur-trade advance. The menace of the trans-Allegheny settlement, which became a reality after 1783, marked the Great lakes fur trade for speedy extinction. Soon along the line of Verendrye's abandoned posts English free traders invaded the territory of the chartered Hudson's Bay company and began to reap a harvest of untold wealth in this virgin fur-bearing land. The immense profits that were gathered in a single season and the heavy cost of outfitting for traffic in such remote regions led to the organization of these free traders into the Northwest company in 1784, with headquarters at Montreal, Verendrye's old starting point. Ten years later this company broke into two, the new organization becoming the

X. Y. company in 1794, both companies competitors of the Hudson's Bay company.

But these two groups of fur-traders did not long remain apart; the advantage of union and the losses of competition soon led the principal investors to coalesce in 1804. Thanks to the work of Alexander Mackenzie, who had already explored the interior of the great plain to the Arctic ocean and had crossed the Rockies to the Pacific, the area open to lucrative fur operations was enormously extended. The reorganized Northwest company was under the direction of able and experienced English and Scotch traders, who employed the best of the veteran French and half-breed *voyageurs,* canoemen, and hunters, trained under an earlier régime. In the long fur-trade duel that ensued, the younger company had the advantage of more accessible headquarters at Montreal which kept the business interests centered there in close touch with the actual field of operations. The Hudson's Bay company, on the other hand, received its orders from dividend-hunting directors in far-off London, and there was very decided loss arising from diversity of opinions between the central head and those who carried out orders in the American wilderness. In a short time the Northwest company had taken possession of this great middle empire for itself, and its rivals were even compelled to share with it that region to which they were entitled by charter. At every strategic point one or both of the rivals built forts and sought to obtain their annual quota of furs by every means, fair or foul. Thus this enormous wilderness was crossed and recrossed by a network of fur-trade routes, while trading posts were established at the more important fords and portages. This half century of fur-trade expansion and conflict, ending in 1821, is the true heroic age of the fur company. The bare roll of names recalls vividly the most remarkable of their achievements; James Finley, the Frobishers, Alexander Henry, Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, Simon McTavish, David Thompson, Alexander Henry, Jr., Simon Fraser, and a host of others, as chief factors, surveyors, explorers, and Indian traders, accomplished the most difficult tasks. The length of their journeys, the natural obstacles they overcame, the privations they endured, the skill and

daring they displayed, the mere extent of the area laid tribute, the amount and value of the trade arising from their labors — all these distinguished their achievements from any others in our early history. There is something truly Homeric in their stubborn conflict with the mighty, barbaric powers of nature. In the savage and relentless struggles of these wilderness heroes with each other, there emerged those elemental forces in human nature in all their crude and pristine vigor, unchecked by law or convention. The story of their deeds is etched on the surface of this once-unpeopled waste, in their old trails and fords, in their ruined trading posts and their abandoned camps and unused portages; and it forms a veritable frontier epic, which it is ours to preserve as a priceless record of how the men of those days dared and achieved.

The unexpected entrance of Lord Selkirk into the conflict as chief shareholder in the badly crippled Hudson's Bay company in the new rôle of colonizer, in spite of Alexander Mackenzie's effort to oppose him, brings the long struggle to a sudden and dramatic close. Whatever may be thought of his motives or his methods, there can be no doubt of the deadly nature of the attack which Selkirk directed at his great rival. In 1811 he established a small colony at the grand forks of the Red and the Assiniboine rivers, where Winnipeg now stands. These colonists, ostensibly transplanted into this interior wilderness as farmers, actually arrived without agricultural implements or seeds and were for some years driven by necessity to draw most of their subsistence from buffalo-hunting. Nevertheless, it was not neglect nor poverty that left them thus unable to utilize the rich soil as a means of livelihood. They were abundantly supplied with muskets, bayonets, and even with some artillery, while their governor drilled them in the use of these weapons. This military establishment, for it was little else, was planted at the exact point of communication between the principal fur-trade territory of the Northwest company and its eastern market and outfitting points, and it completely dislocated communications and cut off the supply of pemmican for the western posts. On the part of the Hudson's Bay company, therefore, it seemed to threaten active war and the extermination of that company's rivals. The challenge was accepted by the Northwest company,

the partners of which urged in defense of their position that the monopoly claimed by their rivals was an infringement upon the rights of free Englishmen, like themselves, who were pursuing their lawful trade in a land open to all alike. Lord Selkirk's grant and colony they held to be a deliberate attempt of an outsider to rob them of the fruits of their labor by a mere legal device having its origin in England and wholly failing to take into account their rights as inhabitants and citizens of the land. As is usual in such cases the ensuing violence and destruction of property bore most heavily upon the unhappy colonists. As for the trading companies, the compromise and coalescence of 1821 put an end to any further conflict.

But Lord Selkirk builded better than he knew when, as a purely military move in the fur-trade war, he dropped this mere handful of untrained Highland Scotch into the middle of a prairie wilderness and left them to reconstruct their industrial lives in accordance with a new and strange environment. All unwittingly he had begun the agricultural conquest of the richest river valley in America, and time has proved abundantly the correctness of this initial experiment. Quite unexpectedly in the later history of the Selkirk colony there developed that antagonism between the farmer and the fur-trader which portended the speedy elimination of the later as the dominant factor in the colony. In this respect this colony follows quite closely the line of evolution pursued by its English counterparts on the Atlantic seaboard. The transformation of the Selkirk colony from a state of entire dependence on an outside corporation for land allotments, markets, and local government, to a condition of self-dependence resembled the historic evolution of Virginia, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania, except in the somewhat longer time required by the latter to reach the various stages of growth. Less than a generation had passed before the Selkirk colonists had broken the Hudson's Bay company's monopoly of power and were far on their way toward industrial independence. The steps by which this result was reached followed each other in rapid succession. The "speeding-up process" was assisted by the presence of a shifting mass of discontented métis or half-breeds. This portion of the population, in turn, had for leaders a considerable number of retired employees, whose services had

been dispensed with upon the coalition of the companies and the termination of the active fur-trade war. These ex-factors and fur-traders chafed under the restraints imposed in the interests of the company and could always be counted on to do their part in bringing their former employers to terms. Another factor of considerable importance in hurrying to maturity this revolt of the Selkirk settlers against corporation monopoly was the presence of a population south of the international boundary line which was already in possession of those rights and privileges which they were struggling to obtain. The constant intercourse along the Red river cart trails between Fort Garry and St. Paul, Minnesota, and also such traffic as the river afforded had early familiarized the Selkirkers with the many practical advantages of some form of representative government. Their petitions for redress of grievances and for removal of obstructions to free trade, and their occasional outbursts of mob violence, paralleled in a striking manner what had taken place in the Atlantic colonies during the previous century.

The Spanish period of control of the lower portion of this region extends over a brief generation and has but little significance to the general historian. New Orleans and St. Louis became the trade centers for a considerable fur traffic extending up the Missouri valley to the Rocky mountains, while Santa Fe developed overland trade across the upper courses of the streams far to the northward. It was probably the faint echo of this Spanish trade advance, confused and distorted by distance, that came to the ears of Verendrye at his far-off post on Lake Nipigon in 1728. The typical trader of this early period is Manuel Lisa, whose influence among the Missouri river tribes was utilized again and again by the United States government. Here, also, in a quiet backwater on the Missouri frontier lived that famous scout, hunter, and Indian fighter of Kentucky fame, Daniel Boone.

The quiet of this northwestern frontier was rudely stirred when Napoleon projected his imperial dream of a French colonial empire, with the islands of the Carribean sea as its naval base and the western half of the Mississippi valley as its principal land mass. It will never be known how far Napoleon was committed to this scheme, for his instruments broke in his hands

and he was left powerless to execute his far-reaching designs. If Fulton's invention of steam navigation had come somewhat earlier and Napoleon had once seized upon it with that marvelous power he possessed of visualizing the possibilities inherent in new situations and unlooked-for conditions, he might have been able, by matching steam-driven ships against the out-of-date English navy, to do more with his colonial project than to toss it into the wastebasket. The potential menace of French control west of the Mississippi river still lends to this whole question the very considerable interest that always attaches to the unknown.

John Ledyard, a native of Connecticut and a member of Captain Cook's expedition in 1776-1779, seems to have been the first to propose a northwestern exploration through this region to the Pacific. After failing to secure aid in this country, he sought help in France and became a well-known character at the court of Louis XVI. In 1785, under the stimulus of a meeting with Jefferson at Paris, he procured passports from Catherine II of Russia and began his journey overland to the Pacific coast of North America. He had nearly reached Kamchatka when he was arrested as a spy and was forced to return.

The purchase of Louisiana gave Jefferson an opportunity to utilize Ledyard's old plan, and the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804-1805 won in its race with a Northwest company expedition for the Columbia river valley. The Hudson's Bay company had been sending traders to the Indian villages on the Missouri river as far back as 1772, while its charter rights to the Red river valley gave it entrance to the upper Mississippi country, an advantage of which it was not slow to make use. The Lewis and Clark expedition and the boundary treaty of 1818 laid down the international line and severed the region at the south from its long and intimate commercial connections to the northward. After a brief experiment in government monopoly of fur trade, this plan was abandoned by the United States in 1822 and the American Fur company took the place so long held by the English fur companies. The greater accessibility of the Mississippi valley, the rush of foreign immigration, and the constant pressure on the part of the southern slaveholding interest for territorial extension forced population considerably

faster into the southern portion of the region under consideration. The building of the great transcontinental railroad lines has completed the process of peopling the area and bringing it up to date. The old Northwest of the Great lakes long ago yielded up its leadership as a wheat-producing area and passed on to more advanced stages of industrial growth. The wheat-growers of Illinois and Wisconsin migrated to Minnesota and the Dakotas, and later their sons abandoned those fields for others in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The new Northwest has likewise open before it an industrial future far transcending anything it has yet experienced. The population is for the most part homogeneous, largely north European, and the predominant language is English. The land-seeker and the capitalist cross and recross the boundary line, looking for investment, without noticing the change of flags — in fact, being quite indifferent to it. The accident of national allegiance seems so far not to have prevented all its people from making full use of the wealth they hold in common, nor will this be in the future anything more than an imaginary bar to coöperation in the attainment of mutual benefits and advantages. The resources of the region are varied as well as rich. First in rank stands the agricultural wealth of the land, just beginning to yield a fair return on investment. Next come the metals — silver, nickel, copper, and iron of the Laurentian belt of the Hudson bay drainage basin; the richness of these deposits may be gauged by their value in the Lake Superior range. The coal, natural gas, and oil areas of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, North Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming have an extent considerably over 100,000 square miles. In the state of North Dakota alone the amount of lignite has recently been estimated by the federal government experts at 987,000,000,000 tons, or enough to last the entire nation at present rates of consumption over one thousand years. The cement and clay beds are also of unusually fine quality in that state and are of an extent sufficient to make them important in the future. The flax straw produced on this soil yields a fiber equal to that used in the manufacture of Irish linen and it is therefore one of the industrial assets of the future.

Four sources of manufacturing power exist in the new Northwest. The first, natural gas, is so far a factor of uncertain value.

The water power is abundant and easy of utilization; its value is extremely variable over the whole area. The third source, wind power, depends for its utilization upon the perfecting of Edison's new electric storage battery, but experiments indicate that this power will ultimately be added to the others already available. Reference has already been made to the extensive deposits of lignite. By a recently perfected briquetting process, fuel has been produced from this lignite practically equal to anthracite, while in its manufacture a very valuable and abundant by-product is yielded in the form of gas, which can be further utilized for light, heat, and the production of electric power. With world markets this region is well supplied in the cities of Duluth, Winnipeg, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and St. Louis, numbering a total population of over one and one-quarter millions. The recent completion of the Panama canal has given new value to these unworked resources. Deep waterway projects, once regarded as visionary, are at last assuming reality. The Rocky mountain barrier, which has so effectually shut out from the Pacific trade the bulky products of the farm and the mine, will shortly lose its power to interrupt traffic in this direction. The Great lakes deep waterway project, as well as that proposed to connect the upper waters of the Mississippi and the Red river, will undoubtedly furnish in the future an outlet amply sufficient for all surplus of raw materials or manufactured articles. The economic dependence of the entire Caribbean region upon the exports of this region, as well as the growth of the trade in other parts of Central and South America on the Pacific, assures a practically unlimited market in the future. Thus the new Northwest is destined to play an increasingly important rôle in the industrial advance which lies before it in the not far distant future.

But the mere recital of material transformations and growth in the wealth and population is far from revealing the full significance of this Northwest; its full rounded history is yet unwritten. There has been, indeed, too little attention paid by all historians to the continental aspects of American history. Parkman, among them all, sensed this phase of our history, but he has had no imitators. If the story of the great interior of North America means anything, it points to a new conception of American

history and an interpretation of events from an altogether different viewpoint. We have all had a surfeit of sectional history, our students are trained, apparently, to do this kind of work and to create an appreciation for it, and the supply must of necessity keep pace with the demand. The southerners, very properly, refuse to accept the New England versions of their history, and insist upon being supplied by their own authors from Louisiana, South Carolina, or Texas. A history of Canada written in British Columbia would hardly correspond with one produced at Quebec. The Mexican version of that country's diplomatic and other differences with the United States will necessarily read differently from the account emanating from Washington, D. C. The great middle west holds a position of such advantage that it can receive and fuse all the divergent points of view that reach it from every quarter. Certain international experiences through which this Northwest has passed have given the population of its wide plains a perspective and a community interest altogether unique. The problems of transcontinental transportation and of great European immigrations, the similarity on a huge scale of the soil and crops, the significance of the Panama canal and of the great tributary waterways — all these have helped this region to achieve a continental self-consciousness quite unlike anything observed elsewhere.

In this respect the relations existing between the populations of these adjoining provinces and states differ from anything to be found across the water. In Europe a state of tension exists, resulting from centuries of conflict and rivalry, all of which has cost and still costs every civilized European state more than it can afford to pay. The people now living in this portion of America, by a most singular good fortune, have never shed each other's blood and, so far as the writer can now recall, have never desired to do so. Before the white man came, our common buffalo herds roved from the Great Slave lake to Texas, supplying the widely diverse tribes with abundant sustenance. Later the roving métis and trading population of the Red river valley lived indifferently on the land of either nation, hunting buffalo and trapping beaver wherever they could be found. The common Indian problem has been met and solved differently on opposite sides of the line. In the United States there has been a

long series of outbreaks with all the sickening details of massacre and devastation; in Canada there has been, on the contrary, not a trace of this. Of the present Indian policy now in vogue in the United States it can only be said that it is probably the most unjustifiable and shameless graft. No excuses can be offered, especially in view of the most humane and statesmanly treatment accorded the Indians on the other side of the boundary. With this background of amity and good feeling on the part of those responsible for the future well-being of the population of the new Northwest, humanity and society at large have much to look forward to when its people set themselves the task of advancing the standards of national life in all the great departments of civic usefulness. Without the heavy burdens imposed by mutual suspicion of each other, with few, if any, of the handicaps of vicious traditions or of past mistakes, they are the most favored children of fortune anywhere on the globe. Their contribution to the sum total of the well-being of the race must, therefore, be correspondingly large.

Cambridge and Oxford for England, and Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Princeton for the United States have in the past put their stamps on the public men who were responsible for the smooth running of the governmental machine. The provincial and the state universities for the north and the south of this continental empire of which the new Northwest is a part will train the men who are in the future to administer its public service, giving them not merely knowledge of mining, agriculture, forestry, and industrial physics and chemistry, but instilling in their hearts that bigger and broader conception of humanity and seeking to cultivate and strengthen the intimate ties of community responsibility and service that link the population on both sides of the boundary into common brotherhood. Then and not till then may we look for those higher and finer products of the heart and the brain, the new literature of poetry, drama, and prose, the music and painting, the sculpture and architecture, altogether worthy of the magnificent land in which it is yet to be produced, and of the men and women whose sacrifices and aspirations it will seek to record.

O. G. Libby

University of North Dakota
University, North Dakota

THE BUFFALO RANGE OF THE NORTHWEST

From the time when the first white men ventured across the Mississippi and pushed on out into the vast reaches of prairies beyond, no conception of the west has been complete without the buffalo or bison.[1] His shaggy, awkward hulk served as a picturesque companion for the Indian in all sketches of the plains. The buffalo, however, was more than a bit of local color which the artist loved to depict or which merely gave the western plains their peculiar flavor. By the miners and the trappers the fresh or cured meat of the buffalo was considered a gift of providence, and often it was actually a life preserver. But to the plains Indians from the Rockies to the Mississippi the buffalo meant life itself. They might occasionally kill an elusive antelope, but the bison was their main source of food and shelter. The old plainsmen early argued that as long as the buffalo roamed the prairies the Indian would remain migratory and independent, and would therefore be a continuous source of danger to the encroaching settlers.[2]

The plains of the upper Missouri, though often more rugged, are similar to those farther south and east. From the Black hills of South Dakota they sweep in a monotonous roll to the Rockies. Sometimes they are drifting sand dunes, now jagged rocks, again pine-covered ridges, and still again barren and stony buttes in chains or standing solitary overlooking the limit-

[1] The word "buffalo" is technically incorrect, but common usage has made the term so general that it will be used in this article as synonymous with the word "bison."

[2] It is not the purpose of this paper to give a general account of the buffalo country of the west. The bison had been found in the eastern United States from near the seaboard to the Mississippi, and from near the gulf to central New York. In the west they roamed as far as the Cascades, south into Mexico, and north to the Great Slave lake. They were not found in great numbers west of the Rockies, however. See William T. Hornaday, "The extermination of the American bison, with a sketch of its discovery and life history," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report*, 1887 (Washington, 1889), part 2, pp. 369-548. Opposite page 548 is a large folding map in colors illustrating the buffalo country of the United States and giving various other data.

less waves of sagebrush and bunch grass waste. Ranges of hills and later real mountains break upon the plains till the main chain of the Rockies is reached. Such was the buffalo land of the northwest.

The bison fed on the almost bare dunes or on the rank grass which then covered much of these prairies. The great Missouri and its branches — the Canon Ball, the Little Missouri, the Yellowstone, the Milk, the Musselshell, the Marias, et cetera — furnished them with a permanent water supply. When in summer the smaller prairie streams dried up, the buffalo still found pools of water in the creek beds. Buffalo "wallows," or mudholes, in which they disported themselves can be found throughout the west.

The first travelers to describe the buffalo country of the upper Missouri were Lewis and Clark. They wrote in minute detail of all the natural resources, but especially of the game. The buffalo engaged much of their attention. In their account of the Missouri, Lewis and Clark recorded in their journals that they saw fewer and fewer bison after passing the mouth of the Musselshell, and almost none after entering the mountains. On May 17, 1805, when some hundred and twenty miles above the mouth of the Milk, Lewis wrote that the buffalo were "not so abundant as they were some days past."[3] But they continued to observe them and occasionally shot a few. The last one the party killed was found on July 16, about twenty-five miles above Smith river, or some fifty miles above the great falls of the Missouri, well within the foothills of the Rockies.[4] Three days later Lewis wrote, "We have seen no buffalo since we entered the mountains."[5] But at times the bison must have wandered beyond the three forks of the Missouri, as on the upper waters of the Jefferson they found buffalo bones and chips of old date.[6]

On their return the explorers separated, Lewis returning by the route of the Missouri proper, thus following their outward journey, while Clark went more to the south via the Yellowstone. The two parties met at the mouth of the Yellowstone, near

[3] *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, 1804-1806*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (New York, 1904-1905), 2: 41.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2: 235.

[5] *Ibid.*, 2: 249.

[6] *Ibid.*, 2: 300.

where Fort Union, on the Montana–North Dakota border, was later built. Far up in the mountains in what is now Beaverhead county, Montana, Clark saw near Ross's Hole old buffalo paths and heads.[7] At last on July 20, 1806, Clark says, after reaching a point east of the present city of Livingston, Montana, "we appear to be in the beginning of the buffalow Country."[8] The Rocky mountains were roughly, then, the limits of the buffalo range.

The number of bison in the northwest before the permanent white settlers arrived seems to have been fabulous. Speaking of the country held by the great Blackfeet tribes — the Blackfeet proper, the Piegan, the Gros Ventres, the Bloods, et cetera — of eastern Montana and adjacent regions, General Isaac I. Stevens, governor of the old Washington territory, wrote in 1854 that these tribes "lived almost exclusively on the buffalo." He figured that the Blackfeet numbered about 10,000. They secured some 20,000 buffalo robes annually for trade and used about the same number to repair their lodges. Stevens considered that a total of 150,000 buffalo above the age of three years were killed by the Blackfeet yearly. To keep up the supply he thought there must be about a million and a half bison in the Blackfoot country. "Yet," wrote the governor, "on a large portion of this region the grass is hardly touched from one year's end to the other."[9]

The number of buffalo that roamed over western Dakota, northern Wyoming, eastern Montana, and the region on up through Alberta and Saskatchewan is really staggering to the imagination. Those who know nothing of the matter at first hand can only with difficulty comprehend the facts as given us by contemporaries. But so many travelers tell the story, and they seem so consistent in telling it, that one must be convinced. When Clark moved down the Yellowstone he observed near the mouth of the Big Horn, some distance west of the present city of Billings, Montana, "emence herds of Buffalow about our [camp] as it is now running [*breeding*] time . . . the bulls keep up such a grunting nois . . . that we are compelled to scear

[7] *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 5: 249.
[8] *Ibid.*, 5: 279.
[9] Hazard Stevens, *The life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens* (New York, 1901), 2: 105.

them away before we can sleep."[10] When just above Mandan, near the present city of Bismarck, North Dakota, he again wrote, "I ascended to the high country and from an eminance I had a view of the plains for a great distance. . . . I had a view of a greater number of buffalow than I had ever seen before at one time. I must have seen near 20,000 of those animals on this plain."[11]

"We left Fort Benton with a large train of oxen . . ." wrote a pioneer of 1867. "From the time we pulled up from the Marias until we located, we were never out of sight of hundreds of thousands, and I believe millions of buffalo." This writer states also that time and again they had to frighten the herds away so that the teams could advance.[12] "Seated on a . . . hill, between Big Muddy and Poplar Rivers[13] . . . as far as a powerful field glass could extend the view, from your feet to the distant horizon, was one sea of these shaggy wild cattle," wrote Major Martin Maginnis in his diary of 1866. "For several days," continued Maginnis, "we traveled through them and could see no apparent limit to their numbers, columns passed as on the march, whose trampling and bellowing seemed more like the roar of an angry ocean than the sound of moving herds." He writes also that members of his party killed great numbers and that they were forced to drive the buffalo from the camp at night to keep them from "fraternalizing" with the oxen.[14]

[10] *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 5: 294.

[11] *Ibid.*, 5: 364.

[12] Story as told by Colonel S. C. Ashby, dictated to A. J. Noyes (19 typewritten pages, in the Montana historical library, Helena), 10-11. Another traveler of the sixties, Ben Malben, tells a similar story of parting the buffalo herds to permit the wagons to pass. Malben says that the members of his party, when just west of Fort Union in 1865, were forced to fire their rifles and wave blankets to make it possible for the caravan to proceed. The story of Ben Malben, as dictated to A. J. Noyes (7 typewritten pages, in the Montana historical library), 3.

[13] These streams enter the Missouri just above the mouth of the Yellowstone.

[14] Manuscript diary of Major Martin Maginnis (58 pages, pages 1 and 2 missing, in the Montana historical library), 27-28. This diary describes a trip from Minnesota to Fort Union in 1866. Major Maginnis represented Montana territory in congress from 1873 to 1885. "The writer," says Topping, "has often seen miles of prairie dotted black with them [*buffalo*] and behind them . . . a strip of country miles in width would be seamed with their trails and cut up by their hoofs." E. S. Topping, *The chronicles of the Yellowstone expedition . . . and the Sioux war of 1866-7* . . . (St. Paul, 1883), 237. "Without exaggeration," says an-

Long after the whites had settled the mining gulches of the west, the buffalo covered the line of the overland trail between Minnesota and the upper Missouri. David Hilger states that when in 1867 he drove a "bull train" over this route, which was approximately followed later by the Great Northern railway, his party encountered "thousands upon thousands" of bison. At times herds advanced upon the ox train and threatened to stampede it. A few courageous bulls jumped between the yokes of oxen and the party feared they would be carried away at any minute and crushed.[15]

In 1870 Peter Koch, another pioneer of the northwest, traveled with a party from the Musselshell river to the Milk. "For a distance of forty miles," said he, ". . . I do not think we were ever out of rifle shot of buffalo." Koch states also that they rode along a ridge and below them were herd after herd as far as the eye could see, the bison barely moving aside for them to pass. Three days later when they returned along the same trail not a buffalo was in sight save two or three old bulls, and the grass was "cut as close as if fed over by sheep." He observes further that while they were living on the Musselshell that winter it was no "uncommon thing to shoot bulls from the doors of our cabins."[16]

A good idea of the abundance of buffalo on the upper waters of the Missouri was given the writer by Granville Stuart, one of the party of three who discovered gold in the northwest in 1858. "In 1866 I went back to St. Louis by way of Colorado and the plains," said Mr. Stuart, "and returned by steamer up the Missouri. At one place the boat was forced to stop an hour and at another point an hour and a half for the buffalo to cross the river. Both above and below us the stream was covered with buffalo for half a mile." When near Fort Berthold, a post on the Missouri between Mandan and Fort Union in the western

other pioneer, speaking of his trip from Sun river down the Missouri to Fort Benton in 1866, "there were a quarter of a million buffaloes in sight, the main herd covered eight miles by three miles, and they were so numerous that they ate every spear of grass as they went." Robert Vaughn, *Then and now; or thirty-six years in the Rockies. Personal reminiscences of some of the first pioneers of the state of Montana* (Minneapolis, 1900), 124.

[15] David Hilger, "Overland trail," in *Contributions to the Historical society of Montana*, 7: 263.

[16] Peter Koch, "Life on the Musselshell in 1869 and 1870," *ibid.*, 2: 302.

part of the present state of North Dakota, an early traveler wrote in his diary, "In the meantime had a good deal of excitement shooting buffalo which were swimming the river in large numbers where the boat lay."[17] Many other pioneers have left records of the great number of buffalo encountered by the river boats.[18] But not all narrators met with great herds of bison. Some were disappointed in seeing few or no buffalo whatever while coming up the Missouri.[19] This failure to see

[17] Diary of James Henry Morley in Montana, 1862-1865 (228 typewritten pages, in the Montana historical library), 7. Some of these buffalo stories seem to be exaggerated. A writer declares that while Captain Marsh was going down the Missouri in the steamer *Stockdale* in 1866 the boat ran into an enormous herd near the mouth of the Yellowstone, the buffalo being so thick in the river that they were caught in the wheels and broke some of the buckets. "Several hours elapsed before the *Stockdale* was able to break through the mighty herds and resume her journey, and they were still crossing when at last they passed beyond view." Joseph M. Hanson, *The conquest of the Missouri; being the story of the life and exploits of Captain Grant Marsh* (Chicago, 1909), 96-98.

[18] Mrs. Mary Butler of Butte, Montana, told the writer the following story: "In 1867 I came from St. Louis to Montana by boat. At the mouth of the Milk the boat was forced to delay to allow the buffalo to pass, and the next day another enormous herd stopped us." A similar account was given the writer by Mr. W. P. Hoopes of Missoula, Montana. Another pioneer, who came up the Missouri in 1863, saw his first buffalo near Fort Berthold. He records that the number of bison increased as the boat ascended the river, until, when just west of Fort Union, he wrote, "Buffalo on every hill." Manuscript "Diary of James Harkness, or log book of the *Shreveport*" (14 pages, in the Montana historical library), 3. This diary covers the period from April 20 to August 4, 1863.

[19] Upon reaching a point above Fort Union, a pioneer woman wrote in her diary, "Signs of buffalo all along, but we fail to see the animals." Nor does she mention meeting any between Forts Union and Benton, although she was very observant. Manuscript diary of Mrs. Mary E. Cook, 1868, copied by her daughter, Mrs. Alice E. Barrett of Redrock, Montana (21 pages, in the Montana historical library), 16. But most of the river travelers saw at least a few buffalo while en route. The log book of a steamer which came up the Missouri in 1863 reads: "Saw first buffalo 12 m. on the south bank, sixty miles below Cannon Ball river [*some distance south of the present town of Bismarck, North Dakota*] and such another excitement has not been witnessed on this trip. Saw three buffalo about 2 p. m." C. J. Atkins, ed., "Log of the steamer Robert Campbell, Jr., from St. Louis to Fort Benton, Montana territory," in *Collections of the State historical society of North Dakota*, 2:276. The items in this record show that a few buffalo were shot now and then till Fort Benton was reached. *Ibid., passim.* Near the mouth of the Cheyenne, above Fort Pierre, this entry was made in another log book, under date of May 15, 1865: "Saw a buffalo about 9 A.M. on the south side, the first we have seen." C. J. Atkins, "Log of the steamer Benton from St. Louis, Missouri, to Fort Benton, Idaho," *ibid.*, 2:295. On May 24, when the steamer was near Fort Berthold, this log reads, "Have seen any amount of buffalo today." *Ibid.*, 297.

many buffalo was doubtless because the bison was a migratory animal. As a result of this fact the river passengers met either large droves of them, or only scattered small bands or individual buffalo which had lost connection with the main herds.

These buffalo which were found in such large numbers on the northwestern range played a very important part in the economy of the Indians. First of all the meat of the bison was the "staff of life" of the red man. He not only ate the meat fresh but he also cured great quantities of it for winter use.[20] Although the Indian may have been improvident and wasteful as a rule, he was so dependent on the meat of the bison that he, or rather his squaw, laboriously preserved what was not consumed when fresh.

Every part of the buffalo was utilized by the Indian. The carefully tanned hides served him both at home and abroad. Not only were his tepee and his lodge covered with them, but his shield and his canoe as well. From the hair he made cord and cloth. Lewis and Clark record that the northwestern Indians used the tallow also in a variety of ways. Buffalo dung was the only fuel save dry grass and weeds to be found over considerable regions of the western plains, and both the Indians and the early whites used it extensively for that purpose.[21]

[20] Lewis and Clark discuss the use of buffalo meat by the Indians of the northwest, and the different ways in which they prepared it. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 168; 2: 853. Major Maginnis describes the preparation of buffalo meat by the western Dakota Indians in his diary, 25. The early whites, as well as the Indians, often had nothing save buffalo meat and it was usually an important portion of their diet. An unknown fur-trader has left us a "Journal of daily incidents at Fort Benton, commencing 28th. September, 1854" (and closing November 30, 1856). This manuscript record is in the Montana historical library. It is replete with entries stating that buffalo meat was brought to that post in large quantities. Dried buffalo tongues were a considerable item of commerce in the fur-trading days, both the Indians and the whites being very fond of them. See William T. Hamilton, "A trading expedition among the Indians in 1858, from Fort Walla Walla to the Blackfoot country and return," in *Contributions to the Historical society of Montana*, 3:63.

[21] Diary of Major Maginnis, 24; *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1: 219, 306, 310, 320; 2: 193, 201, 886; 3: 19, 30; Stevens, *The life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, 2: 105. The use of buffalo dung for fuel by the Indians is mentioned in *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition*, 2:249. "The sage was used for fuel, together with buffalo chips," wrote an overland traveler of 1864, "and it was a part of the writer's duty to provide fuel . . . the chips were gathered up and put in sacks." Account of Raleigh F. Wilkinson, as dictated to A. J. Noyes (12 typewritten pages, in the Montana historical library), 2.

In addition to using the bison as above described, the Indian secured most of his firearms and other supplies from the whites by exchanging buffalo robes and tongues for them. Lewis and Clark found the natives of the upper Missouri trading buffalo robes as well as other pelts to the fur companies in 1805.[22] The limits of this paper will not permit more than a mention of the importance of the buffalo in its relation to the fur trade. Lieutenant Bradley gives the number of robes collected at Fort Benton from 1834 to 1861. For convenience in trading the fur companies arranged the buffalo pelts in packs of ten robes each. The number rose from 200 packs in 1834 to 2,100 in 1841. Indian troubles for a time reduced the fur trade; but by 1847, 2,200 packs were received, and the number remained about that figure till 1854, when 2,300 packs were handled by the traders at Fort Benton. From 1856 to 1861 the number listed each year was between 1,800 and 2,000 packs.[23] These data show the number of robes taken by the Indians to only one of the many trading posts.

The buffalo hunt of the Indians has been described by many old writers. Father de Smet saw seven Flatheads kill in a single hunt 189 bison with spears, arrows, knives, and stones.[24] Major

Ex-United States Senator W. A. Clark of Montana, in describing a journey down the Missouri in 1866, says that at night the boat was tied to the bank and buffalo chips were "collected for the breakfast fire." *Daily Missoulian* (Missoula, Montana), July 5, 1915.

[22] *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 1:206, 221, 223.

[23] Lieutenant James H. Bradley, Miscellaneous manuscripts (6 bound volumes in the Montana historical library), 2: 121. These manuscripts cover a variety of material dealing with the fur trade and military affairs about Fort Benton in the early days. The entries in the Fort Benton journal (see *ante*, note 20) prove that buffalo robes were quite a source of revenue to the Indians. Robes were brought to the post daily during the spring months. For instance, 60 robes were received on April 4, 1855; 73 robes on April 5; 63 on April 6; 373 on April 7; 420 on April 8; 441 on April 9; 417 on April 10; and 600 on April 11. During the fall and winter months robes were received only about every second or third day.

[24] Pierre J. de Smet, *Letters and sketches with a narrative of a year's residence among the Indian tribes of the Rocky mountains* (Philadelphia, 1843), 149. Irving says that the Nez Percés ran buffalo down on foot and skinned them with their spears. Washington Irving, *The Rocky mountains: or, scenes, incidents, and adventures in the far west; digested from the journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, and illustrated from various other sources* (Philadelphia, 1843), 1: 109. Irving must certainly mean that the Indians caught the calves and decrepit bison in this manner or he may refer to the practice of the natives of the northwest who hunted the snow-

Maginnis gives an illuminating story of his hunt with the Mandan near Fort Berthold in 1886. After the braves had killed a large number of bulls the old men and the squaws went out to skin them and prepare the meat.[25]

The Indians had a number of ways of hunting the bison. Their usual method, called "buffalo running" by the whites, was, next to war, their favorite amusement. In this form of hunt the Indians on horseback ran down the buffalo and killed them with bows and arrows or firearms. It was very hard on the ponies and dangerous to the Indians themselves.[26] The Indians also impounded buffalo by herding them into a stockade, after which the captors completed the slaughter when they felt so inclined.[27] Of course this method could be employed only where there was sufficient timber for making the stockade. Still another manner of killing the bison was by means of the "surround." James Stuart, who came to the northwest in 1857, gives a picture of this form of hunting. The Indians ran their ponies round the herd forming it into a compact mass. The bulls would force the cows and the calves within the pack and would then run round and round the margin presenting themselves broadside to the In-

bound buffalo in the deep drifts by overtaking them on snowshoes. Catlin went on a hunt with the Indians near the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1832. He interestingly describes his experiences and gives some illustrations of this hunt. George Catlin, *North American Indians, being letters and notes on their manners, customs, and condition during . . . 1832-1839* (Edinburgh, 1903), 1: 28-31. The famous frontiersman, "Bill" [W. T.] Hamilton, in 1847 went with a party of Shoshoni to hunt near the Stinking Water. They killed over two hundred bison. Hamilton gives a good account of this hunt in *My sixty years on the plains, trapping, trading and Indian fighting* (New York, 1905), 183.

[25] Diary, 24, 25.

[26] Hornaday, "Extermination of the American bison," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report*, 1887, part 2, pp. 478-480. The classical account of a "buffalo run" is that given in Francis Parkman, Jr., *The California and Oregon trail: being sketches of prairie and Rocky mountain life* (New York, 1849), chapter 15. A less accessible account is that told to Mrs. Victor by the famous frontiersman, Joe Meek, who, while on a hunt with a hundred Nez Percés, saw from two thousand to three thousand bison killed. Frances F. Victor, *The river of the west. Life and adventure in the Rocky mountains and Oregon; embracing events in the life-time of a mountain-man and pioneer: with the early history of the northwestern slope, including an account of the fur traders . . . also a description of the country . . .* (Hartford, 1871), chapter 19.

[27] Hornaday, "Extermination of the American bison," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report*, 1887, part 2, pp. 478-480.

dians. Stuart says that from 300 to 1,000 were killed in each one of these "surrounds." [28]

The whites preferred a method of slaughter called the "still hunt." The hunter would conceal himself on a hill or in the brush and shoot the unwary victims at will. Large numbers were killed in this manner in a short time.[29] The white hunters, who were largely professionals, found this method both safe and efficient. But the Indian preferred a more sportsmanlike and active manner of hunting.

The buffalo-hunting Indians of the northwest — the Sioux, the Cheyenne, the Crows, the Blackfeet, the Mandan, et cetera — wandered over the country from the Rockies to Minnesota and from the Canadian provinces to Utah. Each nation, however, encroached on the other only when seeking food or when feeling powerful and aggressive. The great Blackfeet tribes occupied the west-central portion of this great range, along the Missouri and its branches. These buffalo-hunting natives were far more bold and enterprising than the mountain tribes to the west. They could wander over the prairies at will, knowing that with a little effort they could find plenty of buffalo meat. They were the terror of the early trapper, fur-trader, miner, and merchant traveling overland or along the rivers. In these years the Blackfeet were continually on the warpath. They fought impartially the whites, the ultramontane Indians, and one another.

The herb- and berry-eating Indians of the west — the Nez Percés, the Flatheads (Salish), the Shoshoni, et cetera — were far more docile than the plains Indians and were usually the friends of the whites. When cut off from the buffalo country these far-western tribes often suffered severely from famine. Several early travelers have described their misery when they could not obtain buffalo meat.[30]

[28] "Adventures on the upper Missouri," in *Contributions to the Historical society of Montana,* 1:74.

[29] Hornaday, "Extermination of the American bison," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report, 1887*, part 2, pp. 465-470. An old hunter, Harry Andrews, boasted to Hornaday that in this manner he once shot 63 buffalo in less than an hour with 115 shots. *Ibid.*, 469. Another marksman, Vic Smith, said that he had killed 197 in an hour without shifting his position. *Ibid.*, 510.

[30] Lewis and Clark found the Indians of the Bitter Roots in a starving condition. When one of their men shot a deer the natives tore it to bits and devoured it raw,

Not having buffalo in their own country, the Indians of the mountains and those as far west as eastern Oregon and Washington crossed the Coeur d'Alênes, Bitter Roots, Rockies, and miles of valleys and streams in order to reach the Missouri on their annual spring and fall buffalo hunts. But the buffalo range was claimed and permanently inhabited by the great and fierce Blackfeet tribes who slaughtered any mountain Indian who infringed on their buffalo land. Lewis and Clark give a list of several far-western tribes which twice yearly went to the buffalo country in the first decade of the last century.[31] They found that the Flatheads and their neighbors journeyed to the Missouri in the spring and fall. There they killed their game, "put up" the meat, cured the robes, and started on the long trip home. On the return they were often attacked by the more savage tribes, who sought their buffalo meat and ponies, as well as their scalps. The mountain Indians thus secured their meat only under the most discouraging conditions.[32]

The whole northwest was kept in a constant state of terror by these sanguinary conflicts between the Blackfeet and the Indians from beyond the mountains. Not only were the ranks of the natives decimated by them but the existence of the white trappers and traders was made precarious also. In order to protect

even to the entrails. *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 2:355; 3:18. An early Baptist missionary, the Reverend Samuel Parker, passing through the mountains in 1835-1836, wrote that the Indians were destitute of food and were starving. *Journal of an exploring tour beyond the Rocky mountains . . . in the years 1835, '36, and '37* (second edition — Ithaca, New York, 1840), 104-105. Father de Smet gives a dark picture of the Indians who were compelled to live without buffalo meat. See his letter of 1857 in his *Western missions and missionaries* (n. p., n. d.), 282.

[31] *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 6: 114, 120. In 1838 the famous Oregon trapper, "Joe" Meek, went from the Beaverhead country to the Missouri with a party of one thousand Nez Percés on their fall hunt. He figured there were about ten thousand buffalo in the herd they encountered. In half an hour they killed between two and three thousand. Victor, *River of the west*, 248-249.

[32] *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 2: 373. Hell Gate defile, just east of Missoula, Montana, is said to have been so named by the early whites on seeing the Indian skeletons lying about as the result of these battles over buffalo meat and ponies. Governor Stevens wrote in 1853 that the Flatheads returned from the hunt between Christmas and New Year's, the Nez Percés in March. "It is only in winters of unusual severity," he wrote, "that they are unable to cross [the mountains] during any month." Stevens, *The life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, 1: 384, 386.

themselves from the Blackfeet many whites joined the western Indians; but the temporary safety thus secured was dearly bought, for the Blackfeet never forgave them.

No one saw more clearly the value of a lasting peace between the tribes than did Governor Stevens of the old Washington territory. It was his one great ambition to bring the hitherto intractable Blackfeet to agree to a permanent truce with their hated and despised western neighbors. In 1855, after prevailing on the Nez Percés and the Flatheads to follow his guidance, Stevens finally succeeded in gaining the consent of the Blackfeet to a temporary truce. On October 7, 1855, accompanied by a force of the western Indians, he met the Blackfeet at the mouth of the Judith, some distance west of Fort Benton. Here, after days of powwowing and parleying, a satisfactory arrangement was made by which the Blackfeet allowed their old enemies to enter the buffalo country. In return the national government was to give the Blackfeet provisions.[33] Thus was a fair semblance of peace brought to the upper waters of the Missouri. Although the truce was fairly well kept the Indians caused trouble till they were placed on reservations. But even this expedient did not prevent the Indian uprisings of the seventies.

These vast buffalo herds, so important in the economy of the Indian and the white, and so wastefully slaughtered by them, were destroyed in a few years. In 1875 the buffalo were seemingly as numerous as ever along the upper Missouri and its branches. In that year from 50,000 to 100,000 robes were sent east from this region, not counting those that were shipped through Canada.[34] "There were sent East from 1876 from this point," wrote I. G. Baker of Fort Benton, "75,000 buffalo robes. In 1880 it had fallen to about 20,000 and in 1883 not more than 5,000, and in 1884 none whatever."[35]

[33] Stevens, *The life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, 1: chapter 33. The negotiations leading up to this treaty are given largely in Stevens' own words. In addition to this great feat Governor Stevens was responsible for the survey of the Northern Pacific railway through the mountains, and for Captain Mullen's execution of the military road from Fort Benton, at the head of navigation of the Missouri, to Walla Walla. Stevens was killed on a Virginia battle field in 1862.

[34] Hornaday, "Extermination of the American bison," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report*, 1887, part 2, p. 502.

[35] *Ibid.*, 506. From a letter dated October 6, 1887, in answer to a query from

After the slaughter of the southern herds during the seventies, thousands of buffalo-hunters and -skinners came, some of them from as far as Texas, to the upper Missouri and the Yellowstone.[36] These professional hunters made a serious business of killing the bison for robes and hides. The Indians are said to have discontinued the slaughter of the buffalo as soon as the lust and pleasure of the chase had disappeared. The whites, being in the business for profit alone, had no such motive to cause them to desist from the hunt. Until the whites made buffalo-hunting a profession the great herds of the upper Missouri seemingly remained intact.[37]

The white hunters were organized in parties and started from the outfitting points accompanied by wagon trains of supplies. After 1880 the western advancement of the Northern Pacific made it possible for scavengers to follow these hunters, collect the bones, and ship them east. Thus portions of the buffalo which had formerly been considered useless were converted into fertilizer and used for commercial purposes. The fact that by-products could thus be utilized, as in the packing industry, made the slaughter of the buffalo a means of greater profit.[38]

The suddenness with which the buffalo herds of the northwest disappeared surprised even the hunters themselves. As late as 1882 vast herds were grazing about the Yellowstone. Two years

Hornaday. Hornaday gives many figures on robe shipments, his data being obtained from traders and railway officials. They agree that the great northwestern herds were exterminated between 1880 and 1884. Hornaday, "*Extermination of the American bison,* in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report,* 1887, part 2, pp.

[36] Story of Colonel S. C. Ashby, 11. "These rustlers [*horse thieves*] were, many of them, Texas buffalo hunters who started to steal horses as soon as the buffalo became extinct," said a contemporary. Story of John Forgy, as dictated to A. J. Noyes (3 typewritten pages, in the Montana historical library), 2.

[37] The Indian wasted, often wantonly, this great asset on which he depended. Yet, when fatigued or when his supply was complete, he left the buffalo in peace till hunger or restlessness again moved him to the hunt. Lewis and Clark saw, near the mouth of the Judith, "the remains of . . . many mangled carcases of Buffalow which had been driven over a precipice of 120 feet by the Indians and perished." *Original journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Thwaites, ed.), 2: 93. News items now and then appear in papers of the west stating that while making excavations and railroad grades workers have found great masses of buffalo bones immediately under some cliff, over which the natives had doubtless driven them.

[38] Hornaday, "Extermination of the American bison," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report,* 1887, part 2, pp. 446, 507-508. J. M. Hannaford, general manager, now president, of the Northern Pacific railway, wrote that in 1880 the buffalo hides were first tanned on a large scale and the destruction of the bison became more general. Letter dated September 3, 1887, *ibid.,* 508.

later the buffalo was a relic of the past. "I saw many thousands [of bison] while hunting for robes, leather, hides and smoked hump on the Big Dry, Smoky Butte, and Timber creek,"[39] says an old hunter of the eighties, "but it was, I think late in April, 1882, that I saw the Rosebud valley [*south of the present city of Forsythe, Montana*] more or less black with them from near where Lee . . . now is to the present Busby, a distance of 35 or 40 miles. Much has been said about this herd . . . and [it has been] variously estimated at 30 to 50 thousand, my own belief is [that it] was much larger than the last figure." To show how enormous the herd was, this informant continues, "The grass was (in May, 1882) for weeks eaten off or trampled in like a road for miles up and down the Rosebud near my first cabin."[40]

James McNaney, an old buffalo-hunter, says that in November, 1882, a herd of at least ten thousand appeared south of the Yellowstone and that by Christmas "not one remained."[41] "I remember seeing a great number of buffalo along the Musselshell in 1881 and 1882," said a pioneer; "by 1884 only a few were left. The Montana buffalo seem to have disappeared in a year or two."[42]

Professor Hornaday of the National museum organized an expedition in 1886 for the purpose of securing a few specimens of the almost extinct bison for that institution. His party started north from Miles City, Montana, and found a herd of some two hundred buffalo which were very wild. Two animals were secured, but their robes were so poor that he decided to discontinue the hunt and return when the shedding season was over. On September 24, 1887, a second attempt was made. After a long and hard chase twenty-five specimens were added to his collection. These are now mounted and on exhibition in the National museum.[43]

[39] These streams are between the Missouri and the Yellowstone in eastern Montana.

[40] Letter to the author from Mr. L. A. Huffman of Miles City, Montana, dated July 12, 1917. Mr. Huffman is a famous photographer and illustrator of western life.

[41] Hornaday, "Extermination of the American bison," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report*, 1887, part 2, p. 421.

[42] Oral statement of Mr. Harvey Spencer of Missoula, Montana, formerly a rancher of White Sulphur Springs, Montana.

[43] Hornaday, "The extermination of the American bison," in Board of regents of the Smithsonian institution, *Annual report*, 1887, part 2, pp. 532-545. Mr. L. A.

To-day, with the exception of the government herd in the Yellowstone park and the Allard herd on the Flathead reservation, the buffalo of the northwest are practically extinct. Ranging in a limited inclosure, often allowed to mix with cattle, forming a cross known as "cattalo," and periodically shipped from place to place for exhibitions, these remnants are poor relics indeed of the millions that once roamed over the prairies and valleys of the northwest. Their former grazing ground has been occupied by vast herds of cattle, horses, and sheep. In turn, the cattle ranges are being converted into fenced homesteads and the soil is being carefully tilled. To conceive of this occupation and passing of the buffalo of the northwest it is necessary indeed for the present-day observer to use all his imagination.

H. A. Trexler

Whitman College

Walla Walla, Washington

Huffman (see *ante*, note 40), who rambled about eastern Montana and northern Wyoming during the eighties, gives the following account of the last wild buffalo he saw: "I saw two bulls in July 1887, near a ford not far from [the present town of] Birney (Tongue River). I was as greatly surprised as they. I was alone and my horse too played out to follow. I saw them fall into the breaks east and realized that I probably never would again see another wild [buffalo]. I never have." Letter to the author dated July 12, 1917. Buffalo were occasionally secured in the "round-ups" on the western plains. Mr. C. B. Perkins of Valier, Montana, wrote the author on June 2, 1917, that the last one taken in this manner in his part of Montana was found in Teton county, about a hundred miles north of Great Falls, in 1886. Mr. Perkins has had wide experience as a plainsman of the northwest since 1876.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM CALK, KENTUCKY PIONEER*

In the early spring of 1775 William Calk, Virginian, left his home on the Potomac river to answer the challenge of the Kentucky wilderness.[1] He was of medium height, slightly stout, with black hair, and eyes that were blue and merry. In appearance he was best fitted for the easy life of a country gentleman; but the spirit of the pioneer was in his blood. James Calk, his father, a native of Wales, had become dissatisfied as a young man and had crossed the Atlantic to the new world. He settled in Prince William county, Virginia, and there the Calk family prospered. When William was born on the seventh day of March, 1740, he was heir apparent to a large plantation, numerous slaves, a general store, a grist mill, a distillery, and a blacksmith shop. William's education was unfinished, but not entirely neglected. Among the Calk papers is this memorandum, written by his father under date of April 8, 1758:

An agreement made Between James Calk & John Sleep schoolmaster the said Sleep to Teach William Calk and to tend him with Coppies at home and at School & the said Calk Doth agree to Give the said Sleep Ten Shillings & one quart brandy if he Doth his Duty to the full rule of this years Teaching.[2]

William, however, chose to be neither a scholar nor a planter. While he was still young his inherent restlessness gripped him. He married a Miss Sarah Catlett, of Prince William county, and shortly afterwards made a venture which he thus briefly describes on the flyleaf of an old arithmetic:

November the 17 1765 I Set out from prince wm. in virginia

*This paper was read before the Filson club on March 1, 1920.

[1] William Calk must not be confused with Captain William Cocke, who was a member of Colonel Richard Henderson's party in the spring of 1775 and who acted as courier from Colonel Henderson to Daniel Boone at the time of the panic along the Wilderness road. See George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough. Its founding, pioneer struggles, Indian experiences, Transylvania days, and revolutionary annals (Filson club publications* number 16 — Louisville, 1901).

[2] The Calk papers, a collection of historical documents owned by Mr. Price Calk, Hinkston Dale farm, Mount Sterling, Kentucky.

January 24 1766 I Settled in orringe County in Carolinah and bought Larken pairpints improvements for ten pounds on Dan River

March 16th 1767 I Set out from Carolinah back again the 24th day I arrived in prince wm. again. Glory to God —[3]

The failure of this undertaking apparently made him content to remain in Virginia for the next several years. Account books existing among the Calk papers show that he did a thriving business on his father's plantation. Two children were born to him, and he was by nature domestic. So the immediate cause of his journey to Kentucky in 1775 can only be surmised.

On the political horizon of the thirteen colonies in that early spring were flashing the heat lightnings of the approaching storm of revolution. Economic conditions were uncertain. Life was in a state of flux. Neighbor was wary of neighbor. The seaboard was arming for war, and the result was doubtful. But from the explorers who had penetrated beyond the Allegheny mountains came at this time stories of a country that abounded in game and natural beauty; a pioneers' utopia, rich of soil, covered by untouched forests, where men might build homes and found industries unshackled by British tyranny. It was a tempting prospect. Already the Transylvanians, under the leadership of Colonel Richard Henderson, were negotiating with the Cherokee chieftains in the south for the purchase of central Kentucky. Word of their daring scheme reached Virginia. William Calk's restlessness was awakened; he seems to have had little interest in military and political affairs at home; and again he succumbed to the lure of new lands.

On March 13 he left his family and started out to visit and to see for himself this country of which he had heard. In his journal he records the fact that four other white men accompanied him: Abraham Hanks, Philip Drake, Enoch Smith, and Robert Whitledge.[4] Their rendezvous was the home of a Mr. Price, on Rapidan creek. From that point they began the journey, riding horseback, carrying their supplies on pack horses, and taking with them several negro slaves. There is no evidence among the Calk papers that this party contemplated meeting Colonel Henderson and his men, who, a week later,

[3] Calk papers. The arithmetic referred to is in longhand, on unruled paper, and bears the date 1750. It was written by John Sleep, the schoolmaster, for his pupil, William Calk.

[4] William Calk's journal, in the Calk papers.

started from North Carolina for Kentucky. Apparently the Virginians intended to explore the western wilderness alone, and, if conditions there were suitable, to make "improvements" for future homes.

Calk's knack as a diarist was most fortunate on this occasion. Written on two sheets of yellowed parchment is a journal that he kept, day by day, from the time he left his plantation in Prince William county until after he reached Boone's fort, on the Kentucky river. The phraseology of the journal is crude; punctuation is almost entirely lacking; a careless and lavish use is made of capital letters; and in numerous instances, where a polysyllabic word is repeated, it is spelled differently each time. In spite of these pardonable defects, however, the strength of style and the vividness with which the journal briefly describes events reflects the sturdy character of the author. Therein is given a more exact idea of the route followed by the first trail-blazers than is found in any other contemporary document. Its touches of humor are as unintended as they are appealing. Roughly but graphically it sketches the brutal hardships endured by the heroes of the Wilderness road. Colonel Roosevelt, whose knowledge of trans-Allegheny history made him an authority on such subjects, once remarked that he considered Calk's journal the most important record extant of pioneer Kentucky.[5] At least two historians have published inaccurate copies of it, and a number have referred to it; but now for the first time it is given verbatim as written by the hand of William Calk:

William Calk his Jornal [6]

1775 March 13th mond I set out from prince wm. to travel to Caintuck on tuesday Night our company all Got together at Mr Prises on

[5] This statement was made by Colonel Roosevelt, while president of the United States, to Major A. T. Wood of Montgomery county, Kentucky, who then was at Washington serving as congressman.

[6] Calk papers. The Calk journal was copied incorrectly in Thomas Speed, *The Wilderness road, a description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky (Filson club publications* number 2 — Louisville, 1886), and in Archer B. Hulbert, *Boone's Wilderness road (Historic highways of America,* volume 6 — Cleveland, 1903). Among those who used one or the other of these as a reference were Theodore Roosevelt, in *The winning of the west* (New York, 1889-1896), and Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, in *Nancy Hanks; the story of Abraham Lincoln's mother* (New York, 1899). Students of early Kentucky history should compare the Calk journal with that of Colonel Richard Henderson. A photostatic copy of the former is on file in the archives of the Filson club, Louisville, Kentucky.

Rapadan Which was ABraham hanks philip Drake Eanock Smith Robert Whitledge & my Self thear abrams Dogs leg got broke By Drake's Dog —

wedns 15th we started Early from prises made a good Days travel & lodge this Night at mr cars on North fork James River.

thurs 16th we started Early it Raind Chief part of the Day Snowd in the Eavening very hard & was very coald we travld all Day & Got to Mr Blacks at the foot of the Blue Ridge

fryd 17th we Start Early cross the Ridge the wind Blows very hard & cold and lodge at James loyls

Satrd 18th we git this Day to William andersons at Crows ferrey & there we Stay till monday morning

mond 20th we Start early cross the fery and lodge this night at Wm adamses on the head of catauby

tuesd 21st we Start early and git over pepers ferey on new River & lidge at pepers this night.

wedns 22d we Start early and git to foart chissel whear we git some good loaf Bread & good Whiskey

thurs 23d we Start early & travel till a good while in the Night and git to major cammels on holston River. fryday ye 24th we Start early & turn out of the wagon Road to go across the mountains to go by Danil Smiths we lose Drive[7] Come to a turabel mountain that tried us all almost to death to git over it & we lodge this night on the Lawrel fork of holston under a grait mountain & Roast a fine fat turkey for our Suppers & Eat it without aney Bread

Satrd 25 we Start Early travel over Some more very Bad mountains one that is caled Clinch mountain & we git this night to Danil Smiths on clinch and there we Staid till thursday morning on tuesday night & wednesday morning it Snowed Very hard and was very colad & we hunted a good deal there while we Staid in Rough mountains & Kild three Deer & one turkey Eanock ABram & I got lost tuesday night & it asnowing & Should a lain in the mountains had not I had a pocket Compas By which I Got in a littel in the night and fired guns and they heard them and caim in By the Repoart

thursd 30th we Set out again & went down to Elk gardin and there Suplid our Selves With Seed Corn & irish tators then we went on alittel way I turnd my hors to drive afore me & he got Scard Ran away threw Down the Saddel Bags & Broke three of our powder goards & ABrams flask Burst open a walet of corn & lost a good Deal & made aturrabel flustration amongst the Reast of the horses Drakes mair ran against a sapling & noct it down we cacht them all agin & went on & lodgd at John Duncans

[7]A negro slave belonging to William Calk.

fryd 31st we suplayd our Selves at Dunkans with a 108 pounds of Bacon & went on again to Brileys mill & suployd our Selves with meal & lodged this night at clinch By a large cainbrake & cuckt our Suppers.

April satd first this morning there is ice at our camp half inch thick we Start Early & travel this Day along a verey Bad hilley way cross one creek whear the horses almost got Mired Some fell in & all wet their loads we cross Clinch River & travell till late in the Night & camp on cove creek having two men with us that wair pilates

Sund 2d this morning is avery hard frost we Start Early travel over powels mountain and camp on the head of Powels valey whear there is verey good food

mond 3d we Start Early travel down the valey cross powels River go some throw the woods with out aney track cross some Bad hils Git into hendersons Road camp on a creek in powels valey; tuesday 4th Raney we Start about 10 oclock and git down to capt martins in the valey where we over take Coln. henderson & his companey Bound for Caintuck & there we camp this Night there they were Broiling & Eating Beef without Bread; Wednesday ye 5th Breaks away fair & we go on down the valey & camp on indian Creek we had this creek to cross maney times & very Bad Banks ABrams Saddel turned & the load all fell in we go out this Eavening & Kill two Deer

thurd 6th this morning is ahard frost & we wait at camp for Coln. henderson & companey to come up they come up about 12 oclock & we Join with them and camp there Still this night waiting for Some part of the companey that had their horses Ran away with their packs; fryday ye 7th this morning is avery hard Snowey morning & we Still continue at camp Being in number about 40 men & Some Neagros this Eavening Comes aletter from Capt Boon at caintuck of the indians doing mischief and Some turns back

William Calk His Jurnal April ye 8th 1775 Satterday

Satrd 8th We all pact up & Started Crost Cumberland gap about one oclock this Day we Met a great maney peopel turnd Back for fear of the indians but our Company goes on Still with good courage we come to a very ugly Creek With Steep Banks & have it to Cross Several times on this Creek we camp this night

Sunday 9th this morning We wait at camp for the cattel to Be drove up to Kill a Beef tis late Before they come & peopel makes out alittel snack & agree to go on till till Night we git to cumberland River & there we camp meet 2 more men turn Back

Monday 10th this is alowry morning & very like for Rain & we keep at camp this day and Some goes out ahunting I & two more goes up avery large mountain Near the top we Saw the track of two indians &

whear they had lain unter Some Rocks Some of the companey went over the River a bofelo hunting But found None at night Capt. hart comes up with his packs & there they hide Some of thier lead to lighten thier packs that they may travel faster

tuesday 11th this is a very loury morning & like for Rain But we all agree to Start Early we Cross Cumberland River & travel Down it about 10 miles through Some turrabel Cainbrakes as we went down abrams mair Ran into the River with Her load & Swam over he followd her & got on her & made her Swim Back agin it is a very Raney Eavening we take up camp near Richland Creek they Kill a Beef Mr Drake Bakes Bread with out Washing his hands we Keep Sentry this Night for fear of the indians—

Wednesday 12th this is a Raney morning But we pack up & go on we come to Richland creek it is high we toat our packs over on a tree & swim our horses over & there We meet another Companey going Back they tell Such News ABram & Drake is afraid to go aney further there we camp this night—

thursday 13th this morning the weather Seems to Brake & Be fair ABram & Drake turn Back we go on & git to loral River we come to a creek before wheare we are obliged to unload & to toate our packs over on alog this day we meet about 20 more turning Back we are obligd to toat our packs over loral River & Swim our Horses one hors Ran in with his pack and lost it in the River & they got it [again]

fryday 14th this is a clear morning with a Smart frost we go on & have avery mirey Road and camp this Night on a creek of loral River & are Surprisd at camp By a wolf—

Satterday 15th clear with a Small frost we Start Early we meet Some men that turns & goes With us we travel this Day through the plais Cald the Bressh & cross Rockcase River & camp ther this Night & have fine food for our horses—

Sunday 16th cloudy & warm we Start Early & go on about 2 mile down the River and then turn up a creek that we crost about 50 times Some very Bad foards with a great Deal of very good land on it the Eavening we git over to the Waters of Caintuck & go alittel Down the creek & there we camp keep Sentry the forepart of the night it Rains very har[d] all night—

monday 17th this is a very Rany morning But Breaks about 11 oclock & we go on and Camp this Night in Several companeys on Some of the creeks of caintuck

tuesday 18th fair & cool and we go on about 11 oclock we meet 4 men from Boons Camp that Caim to cunduck us on we camp this night Just on the Beginning of the Good land near the Blue lick they kill 2 Bofelos this Eavening—

Wednesd 19th Smart frost this morning they kill 3 Bofelos about 11 oclock we come to where the indians fired on Boons Companey & Kild 2 men & a dog & wounded one man in the thigh we campt this night on oter creek—

thursday 20th this morning is Clear & cool We Start Early & git Down to Caintuck to Boons foart about 12 oclock wheare we stop they Come out to meet us & welcom us in with a voley of guns

fryday 21st Warm this Day they Begin laying off lots in the town and prearing for peopel to go to worek to make corn—

Satterday 22d they finish laying out lots this Eavening I went afishing and Cacht 3 cats they meet in the night to Draw for choise of lots But Refer it till morning—

William Calk his Jurnal April ye 23d 1775.

April Sunday 23d this morning the peopel meets & Draws for Chois of loots this is avery warm day

monday 24th We all view our loots & Some Dont like them about 12 oclock the Combsses come to town & Next morning they make them abark canew and Set off down the River to meet thier Companey—

tuesday 25th in the Eavening we git us a plaise at the mouth of the creek & Begin clearing this day we Begin to live with out Bread

Wednesday 26th We Begin Building us a house & a plaise of Defence to keep the indians off

thursday 27th Raney all Day But We Still keep about our house—

Satterday 29th We git our house kivered with Bark & move our things into it at Night and Begin houskeeping Eanock Smith Robert Whitledge & my Self

monday May ye first I go out to look for my mair and Saw 4 Bofelos the Being the first Ever I Saw & I shot one of them but did not git him when I caim home Eanck & Robin had found the mair & was gone out ahunting & did Not Come in for Days and kild only one Deer—

tuesday 2d I Went out in the morning & kild aturkey and come in & got Some on for my Breakfast and then went & Sot in to Clearing for Corn—

Thus was Kentucky civilization first planted with the hoe and defended with the rifle. The initial journey over the Wilderness road was essentially "the survival of the fittest." The men who reached Boone's fort were elected by circumstance, not by self, as conquerors of the untamed "Meadow Land." "Some turns Back"—a laconic but eloquent indictment of those who retreated in the teeth of danger; a sharp comparison with their comrades who pushed forward and attained their goal.

As was proved by events, two members of Calk's original

party were ill chosen for so daring an enterprise. Philip Drake comes in for veiled censure at the very beginning of the journal, for owning a vicious dog. Later Calk notes with disfavor that he violated the laws of cleanliness in baking bread without washing his hands. The title of "Mister," so formally applied to Drake, is also significant of the coolness that must have existed between them. Abraham Hanks, however, was a greater favorite. Calk refers to him frequently and intimately.

Hanks and Drake had not gone far back over the Wilderness road, after quitting their companions, when they met another band of pioneers going to Kentucky. The two Virginians regained courage, joined this band, and reached Boone's fort shortly after Colonel Henderson and his followers.

No further mention of Philip Drake is found in the Calk papers. But there are several documents bearing upon Abraham Hanks. He was an uncle of Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln.[8] While a well-meaning and likable fellow, no doubt, he appears to have fared badly in Kentucky. His friend William came to his assistance on more than one occasion. Among the Calk papers is a note stating that "I ABraham Hanks Am held and firmly Bound unto William Calk in the just and full Sum of Sixty Eight pounds Virginia Currency." On the back of the note is the acknowledgment: "1777 March ye 17th Received of ABraham Hanks ten pounds Currency in part of the Within Bond." The balance, it seems, remained unpaid, for the note was never surrendered.

It is claimed by the present Calk family that William Calk helped survey the town of Boonesborough. A document substantiating this claim, and done in Calk's own hand, is with his papers. This document is an original plat of Boonesborough, the only one, as far as can be ascertained, now in existence. While differing slightly in its general outlines from that reproduced in Collins' *History of Kentucky,* the boundaries are essentially the same; the compass directions are marked; watercourses are shown; and Calk noted thereon that the diagram is "Platted by Scale a 100 poles to one Inch."[9]

Another document of Calk's, entitled by him "Plan of the Town Called Boonsborough," outlines and numbers forty of the build-

[8] Hitchcock, *Nancy Hanks.*

[9] "Plat the first survey Boons Borough," in the Calk papers.

ing lots that adjoined the Kentucky river. It gives a list of the forty men and women owning these lots. Opposite each name is the number of the owner's parcel of ground.[10]

One of the projected streets of Boonesborough was called Calk street.[11] In Calk's records is this memorandum:

Surveyed for the trustees of Boons Borough 700 acres of Land Beginning at a mapole at the mouth of oater creek [and] Running thence Down the meanders of the River.[12]

A second memorandum, dated February 13, 1786, itemizes the "Days Worck Done on the Boat," showing that £25 were due William Calk and his fellow workmen for their labor. The memorandum is O. K.'d and signed by Calk, who evidently was in charge of the construction.[13]

When Kentucky was admitted into the union and various towns were bidding for the state capital, Boonesborough put forward its claim. Calk and twenty other interested citizens presented a petition headed:

We the subscribers whose names are under written do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, our heirs, Executors and Administrators, to pay in four annual payments to any person or persons authorised to Receive the same for the State of Kentucky, the particular sums and articles annexed to our names. Provided that the permament Seat of Government for the said State is fixed in the Town of Boonsborough. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 30th day of August 1792.[14]

William Calk was the third man to sign this petition, with the promise of 200 pounds. The copy just quoted in part is among the Calk papers and contains all the original signatures and individual bids of money and land. Two other documents, pertaining to Boonesborough, tell respectively of a jury being forced to try a case in a fence corner[15] and of the need of the citizens for a resident militia officer and magistrate.[16] Both documents were written by Calk.

10 Calk papers.

11 Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, revised and enlarged by Richard H. Collins (Covington, Kentucky, 1878), 2: 516.

12 Original memorandum of survey, in the Calk papers.

13 "Memorandum of Days Worck Done on the Boat," in the Calk papers.

14 Original petition from the citizens of Boonesborough, in the Calk papers.

15 Memorandum of jury proceedings, dated July 20, 1795, in the Calk papers.

16 Letter from William Calk to "the chief and leader of our county" (addressee's name unknown), in the Calk papers.

The surveying instruments — compass, staff, and chain — which he brought from Virginia are still in the possession of his descendants. His was a mathematical mind, disciplined, precise, thoroughly at home in the realm of figures. He had a passion for business accuracy. Among his preserved papers are hundreds of surveying records, many canceled and uncanceled notes, account books, land warrants, bills of sale, receipts, depositions, and letters bearing on every phase of his intensely active life.[17]

William Calk was one of those who soon grew dissatisfied with the Transylvania company's proprietorship. He came to Kentucky with an ideal, and that ideal was not realized in the vicinity of Boonesborough. Two months after he settled there in April, 1775, the old restlessness again possessed him. He, with Enoch Smith and Robert Whitledge, mounted their horses and started eastward to explore the country and to make improvements.[18] They went beyond the boundary of the Transylvania grant, beyond the jurisdiction of the proprietors; they crossed the watershed between the Kentucky and Licking rivers and reached the main branch of what now is Hinkston creek, in Montgomery county, about thirty miles from Boonesborough.

According to a tradition the three pioneers suffered greatly from thirst on this journey. A drought had parched the country, drying up the streams and making pure water scarce. Calk and his companions were exhausted to desperation when they reached the source of Hinkston creek. There, by chance, they noticed water oozing from a cleft beneath some rocks. Calk dismounted, took a tomahawk from his belt, and with it scraped away the sod and the stones. A crystal-clear fountain gushed forth, cool and inviting. The men gave a shout of thanksgiving and eagerly quenched their thirst at the spring.

Calk considered the spring so remarkable in furnishing a steady flow in a season of drought, that the next use he made of his tomahawk was to mark the surrounding trees, thus claiming the region as his own.[19] These three men were the first Cauca-

[17] Calk papers. Documents of especial interest besides those mentioned in the text include two blank Transylvania company land warrants and two land grants signed by Patrick Henry and Edmund Randolph, respectively, while governors of Virginia.

[18] Deposition of Enoch Smith, taken in 1812, Calk *v.* Reid, in Montgomery county, Kentucky, court records.

[19] *Ibid.*

sians to visit the present county of Montgomery.[20] A buffalo trace then led from Stoner creek to the headwaters of Hinkston, down Hinkston and on to an Indian mound, for which Mount Sterling, the county seat of Montgomery county, was named. Calk, Smith, and Whitledge followed this trace to its end, exploring the country.[21] They then returned to Boonesborough.

Thereafter this spring was known as Calk's spring. He came back to it in June, 1779, and with the help of John Harper erected a cabin.[22] This cabin is described as being "14 feet long and 12 feet wide, well covered with sassafras puncheons," and floored with logs. It was about twenty or thirty poles southwest of the spring, fronting the buffalo trace. A clearing was made near by, fenced with rails, and planted in corn. The next year Calk, "by virtue of a certificate," entered 400 acres, including this improvement.[23] It became the most noted place in that part of Kentucky. Calk's hunting cabin, as it was called, was a favorite sporting resort for the men of Boonesborough, and of Boone's, Strode's, Holder's, and McGee's stations.[24] The land was exceedingly fertile; the neighboring woods abounded in deer, bears, and wild turkeys; and William Calk was a generous host.

At last his roving spirit was satisfied. His attachment for this location seems to have been an instance of love at first sight. He did not move from Boonesborough immediately, but made frequent and long sojourns at his cabin. In the meanwhile he had returned to Prince William county and had brought his family to the fort. There on April 7, 1784, his son Thomas was born.[25] It is affirmed by Thomas Calk's descendants that he was the first male child to have Boonesborough as his birthplace.

Two stories are told of William Calk that throw interesting side lights upon his character. At a time when the Indians were troublesome, he and a party of hunters left Boonesborough for

[20] Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2: 633.

[21] Deposition of Enoch Smith, Calk *v.* Reid; Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2: 633. Under "Bath county," Collins says: "Wm. Calk was on Slate Creek in 1779."

[22] Deposition of John Harper, Calk *v.* Reid.

[23] Certified copies of deed and plats, in the Calk papers.

[24] Deposition of James McMillian, Calk *v.* Reid.

[25] Calk family Bible.

his cabin at the spring. As they rode along the old buffalo trace, eyes and ears alert for signs of redskins, a walnut dropped from a tree in front of them, landing directly in the middle of the trail. The hunters were frightened. Men who knew no fear when face to face with danger were cowed by superstition when confronted with what they considered an evil omen. The walnut falling in their path, they said, meant that death awaited them farther down the trail. Calk was the only man among them who retained his judgment. But in spite of all he could say, his companions turned back. He went on alone, and reached his cabin in perfect safety.

Late one winter, perhaps the "hard winter" of 1780-1781, an Indian chief staggered to the door of the cabin and begged shelter. Calk admitted him, found him scantily clothed, famished, and apparently dying. For days the white man tended the red man, laboring to revive his ebbing life. The racial feud was forgotten. They were kinsmen of soul, if not of flesh; between them necessity had forged a bond stronger than any treaty on parchment. With food, warm coverings, and constant care the Indian was restored to health. Calk had saved his life, and genuine was the Indian's gratitude. Yet he had nothing of material value to give his benefactor. As the richest of his possessions, he placed in Calk's hands a turkey-call made of deer horn and lavishly decorated with Indian hieroglyphics. Then the chief went his way and was never heard of again. Calk carried the turkey-call thereafter as a talisman of good luck. It now is owned by his descendants and is in their historical collection.[26]

After Calk brought his family from Boonesborough to his improvement in Montgomery county, he built a commodious house of hand-pressed brick near the spring. Then he set about to acquire more land. At one time he held claims on a tract of 58,000 acres, extending from Stoner Creek to Hinkston. Most of this was disputed in the courts and was lost.

"From land litigation no county in Kentucky has suffered

[26] Included in the Calk collection of pioneer relics is an iron camp kettle, brought over the Wilderness road in 1775, said to have been used by William Calk and Daniel Boone on joint hunting expeditions; two powder gourds, carried by Calk on his first journey to Kentucky; and a bullet ladle, candle molds, fluting irons, frying pan, broiler's and woodsman's ax, brought from Prince William County and used by the family at Boonesborough.

more than Montgomery," wrote Richard H. Collins. " . . . Sometimes as many as five or six patents covered the same piece of land; and the occupant, besides the title under which he entered, frequently had to purchase two or three times more, or lose his home and labor."

In this way Calk was forced to spend much money, suing and defending suits. He also went on the notes of several friends, as was the common but unwise practice in that day. Some of these friends became bankrupt, and their indorser sold many blue grass acres in meeting their obligations. But so plentiful was land, and so rare were the merest mechanical conveniences, that Calk once traded 800 acres for a silver watch. He donated the site of the first church building in his part of the state. This, the old Springfield church, was erected in 1793,[27] and is still in use. It stands just across the Montgomery line in Bath county.

All this while, however, William Calk was busy with his compass, chain, and staff, surveying land and adjusting titles for other pioneers. At various times he held the office of deputy surveyor for the counties of Fayette, Madison, and Bourbon.[28] Kentucky historians have puzzled long over the exact plan of "the mystical 'Old Town' " of Milford, the original county seat of Madison. It was "established by act of the Virginia legislature, in 1789."[29] For more than a century it has existed only in name. Now it is proved that William Calk laid out this town. He then was deputy surveyor of Madison. Three plats of Milford are among his papers, giving the boundaries, the acreage of the public grounds, and the width and length of the streets. He states on the largest plat that the survey was made on July 2 and 3, 1790, "in obediance to an order of the Trustees for the town of Milford."

On his vast estate William Calk lived the life of a frontier baron. When game became scarce, he constructed a deer park near his home. He was a great lover of horses. His slaves were numerous and well cared for. Besides his many virtues, however, he had a large and rare gift of profanity. Often when the sun glared scorchingly upon the fields, his negroes would quit

[27] Deposition of John Harper and Jilson Payne, Calk *v.* Reid.

[28] Certificates of appointment and signed surveys, in the Calk papers.

[29] Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2: 522.

their labors for the cool creekside. Then their master would appear. Mounting the topmost rail of the fence, where his eloquence would be unobstructed, he would give the blacks a verbal lashing that was the terror and wonder of that section of the commonwealth.

But, first of all, William Calk was practical. He built a tannery and a grist mill below his spring on Hinkston creek, and traded extensively in live stock and farm produce. He was a money lender. According to his papers, he had business relations with such men as Richard Menefee, Sr., Isaac Shelby, James Garrard, Daniel and Jesse Boone, Nathaniel Hart, Green Clay, Judge James French, and James and Samuel Estill. Yet he apparently took almost as little interest in political affairs in Kentucky as he had taken in Virginia. His name is not found on any of the petitions to the mother state. He was not a member of the legislative bodies. Nor is there evidence that he went on a single military expedition. A tradition current in his family declares that William Calk never took a human life. Considering his journeys over the Wilderness road, his residence at Boonesborough, and his explorations through the Indian infested canebrakes, this is a record unique in early Kentucky annals.

Even at the age of sixty-four, the old pioneer was ready for new adventures. In a short journal,[30] begun on March 31, 1804, he wrote: "I made the first adventer on a speculation with a Boat loaded with corn tobacco bacon & laird bound to the port of knew orleans." The Mississippi river was then open to Kentucky commerce; and, from Boonesborough, Calk made the trip to the Louisiana capital and back in less than four months.[31]

His last years were clouded by a poignant sorrow. William, his eldest and most beloved son, inherited the *wanderlust* of his father and his grandfather. He received a good education for that day; for a while he taught school; and among the Calk papers are some very creditable bits of verse signed by William, junior. But, like his father, he early grew dissatisfied with his home. He

[30] Journal kept on the trip to New Orleans in 1804, in the Calk papers.

[31] From New Orleans William Calk brought home a Moorish hanging lamp and a beautiful hand-painted curtain, now in the possession of Mr. Price Calk, Mount Sterling, Kentucky.

left Kentucky and went to the Texas frontier, where he married and settled.

William, senior, patiently awaited his return. He must have had considerable sympathy and understanding for his son, remembering his own nomadic youth. But that did not assuage his longing. Again and again he wrote, asking him to come home. It did no good. At eighty-two the old pioneer—"now in a weak State of body but in my proper mind and forseeing my approaching dissolution"—made his will.[32] The instrument was transcribed by his own hand, showing, in spite of his age, a remarkable grasp of details and painstaking accuracy. He bequeathed the bulk of his estate to William, "should he return." But William did not return; and on October 18, 1823, his father died.

Thomas Calk came into possession of the homestead; his son, Thomas, next fell heir to it; and now Price Calk, great-grandson of William, senior, resides on the site of the famous hunting cabin. Not far away, on a hillside overlooking the spring, is the family graveyard. There beneath a sheltering cedar tree, is the earthy sepulcher of the old pioneer, joint conqueror of the Kentucky wilderness.

Lewis H. Kilpatrick

Mount Sterling, Kentucky

[32] William Calk's will, in the Mount Sterling, Montgomery county, Kentucky, court records.

BOOK REVIEWS

The conquest of the old Southwest. The romantic story of the early pioneers into Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Kentucky, 1740-1790. By Archibald Henderson, Ph.D., D. C. L. (New York: The Century company, 1920. xxiv, 395 p.)

It would be easy to underestimate the value of this book. The extent of the field which the author undertakes to cover — "the romantic story of the early pioneers into Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky, 1740-1790" — is great; the size of the volume, in comparison with that of Roosevelt's *Winning of the west* or that of Winsor's *Westward movement,* is small; the interest which, despite a redundancy of adjectives and some excess in the use of the superlative, attaches to the narrative is absorbing; consequently one might read the book hastily in the spirit in which one looks at a moving picture and, if passing judgment at all, might say to himself, "Here is an excellent piece of popular history writing." All this, indeed, the book is; but it is also much more. The solid bibliographical list and the mass of footnotes which follow the text are a challenge to the critic, inviting him to a searching examination of the author's research and presentation of the facts. Moreover, the book is the fulfillment of an obligation; for Mr. Henderson, in many newspaper and magazine articles, has worked over this or that part of the field, all the while promising to students of southern history the elaboration of his results into a larger synthesis. The promise, one may safely say, has been duly kept; the challenge has been well met. Mr. Henderson has written a book which will command the attention of the student no less than the favor of the general reader.

Fairly to support this judgment we must proceed to a brief summary of Mr. Henderson's book. The introduction, devoted to an interpretation of the significance of the history of the frontier, reveals the indebtedness of the author to the writings of Professor Turner, an indebtedness which is felicitously acknowledged in the dedication of the book to that distinguished scholar. The early chapters deal with the southern part of that region which Professor Turner has named "the Old West"— the country between the tidewater settlements and the mountain barriers of the Appalachian system. The in-pouring of the Scotch-Irish and of the German sectaries, and the manner of living which these and the English immigrants developed in the back country are skillfully summarized. Upon this foundation is built so full an account of Daniel

Boone and of those pioneers with whom he was connected either by association or by family ties, that one almost expects the book to develop into a life of Boone. But the author passes on to two of the topics in regard to which his work is most original and valuable — the Cherokee war in the south and the "regulator" difficulties in North Carolina. Of the former of these we have here one of the best accounts available, and as good a one as can be written without the exploiting of material which Mr. Henderson, like his predecessors, has neglected — the rich manuscript records of South Carolina. There is a very full outline of the doings of the hunters who, before Boone or during the time of his wanderings, were, like him, acquiring an ever-increasing body of geographical knowledge concerning the transmontane region. The account of the early speculative companies of Virginia is satisfactory, but the part played by Washington in connection with westward expansion, the far-sighted vision of Franklin, and the influence of the Pennsylvania merchants and their associates in New York and New Jersey, who gave support to George Croghan, are not so clearly presented.

We are thus brought to what constitutes the central portion of the book, the reason for its existence. The main thesis of Mr. Henderson, as all who have followed his former writings know, is that the most significant creative factor in the development of westward expansion in the south was Richard Henderson of North Carolina. This North Carolina judge, according to Mr. Henderson, shortly after the peace of 1763 conceived the idea of buying land from the Indians, from about the same time furthered the scouting expeditions of Daniel Boone who had become indebted to Henderson and his partners, formed successive companies for speculation and settlement which culminated in the Transylvania company, obtained from England legal advice to the effect that private purchases from the Indians would give good legal title, and, after the establishment of the settlements on the headwaters of the Tennessee river, and the war conducted by the Earl of Dunmore, founded the colony at Boonesborough. This establishment of Boonesborough Mr. Henderson interprets as of critical importance in American history because at that place was made, in the course of the revolution, the stand against the Indians supported by the English, which defeated the plans of the British for the reconquest of the Northwest. After describing the Indian troubles of 1776 and sketching the course of events to 1779, Mr. Henderson shows how Richard Henderson was related to the founding of the settlement upon the Cumberland river, which later became Nashville, Tennessee. There are three additional chapters, but these are rather detached from the rest of the work. One tells of the King's Mountain campaign; one, of the state of Franklin; and the last, of the approaches which, in 1789, Sevier and Robertson and their friends made to the

Spanish authorities, offering to deliver over to them the settlers in the Tennessee country. This, in very brief statement, is the scope of Mr. Henderson's book. It affords a very excellent explanation of many of the forces at work in the southern interior before and during the revolutionary period, with a much narrower view of the decade after 1780.

In the excellent bibliographical note which is found at the end of the volume and in various footnotes Mr. Henderson has very justly called attention to the defect that marks Roosevelt's *Winning of the west,* which "over-accentuates the strenuous life and largely underemphasizes economic and governmental phases." "Mr. Roosevelt's virile apotheosis of the strenuous pioneer seems to-day almost as old-fashioned in its method and outlook as is Draper's work on King's Mountain." A very careful reading of Mr. Henderson's volume leaves the reviewer inclined to the belief that it is not altogether free from the limitations which the author ascribes to the work of Mr. Roosevelt. In the first place, the materials available in printed form are sufficient to enable the student to form a reasonably clear picture of the internal situation in the colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina during the period which is covered by this book. In the chapter on the regulators, the author takes full account of the economic factors that lay behind that conflict; but thereafter these factors receive little notice, and the same may be said for the constitutional difficulties that existed when events led to the outbreak of armed rebellion. Must not some explanation be offered for the fact that the governors of North Carolina and Virginia were not able to follow up with more effective measures the proclamations which they promulgated against Richard Henderson? In North Carolina, particularly, the financial situation of the government is worthy of attention.

Again, is it possible in the light of recent studies such as those of Carter and of Alvord to lift out of the British colonies the four which Mr. Henderson has chosen, and to omit any account of Georgia and the Floridas? The establishment of Georgia and the acquisition of the Floridas in certain important aspects of administration made the southern provinces constitute almost a unit. This appears in the management of Indian affairs, in ministerial policies as to colonization, and, on the military side, in the refuge afforded to the loyalist element when the revolution broke out. This loyalist element in the west, it must be added, receives little attention from Mr. Henderson and then only in a rather conventional way. For example, Mr. Henderson repeats the old partisan statement that "during the spring of 1776 plans were concerted, chiefly through Stuart and Cameron, British agents among the Southern Indians, for uniting the Loyalists and the Indians in a crushing attack upon the Tennessee settlements and the back country of North Carolina," and recounts the old story of Nancy Ward and her warning

to the settlers; whereas the truth is that the orders to use the savages came directly from General Gage and were defended by him as mere retaliation for the action of the Americans in "bringing as many Indians down against us as they could collect"; that Stuart had used every degree of influence at his command to keep the Indians quiet and even after he received Gage's letter had declared to his deputies that he could not interpret his orders as intending an indiscriminate use of the savages. Moreover, it was Stuart's deputy, Henry Stuart, who warned the settlers of their peril.

To mention this merely as a matter of detail might seem hypercritical; but the error has a deeper significance. In this place, and on three or four other occasions, Mr. Henderson does mention John Stuart; but of the significance of his office, that of the superintendent of Indian affairs in the southern department, Mr. Henderson does not reveal a very definite conception. In his introduction he devotes over a page to the place in frontier history occupied by the Indian trader, and in his earlier chapters he speaks of the rivalry of Virginia and South Carolina in the Indian trade. But of the actualities of this matter he has nothing further to say. What European demands lay behind the Indian trade, how it was carried on from the Indian to the trader, from the trader to the merchant, and from the merchant to Europe — these questions are not considered. Nor is this matter taken up in the light of imperial administration, though from Professor Alvord's notable work, *The Mississippi valley in British politics,* which Mr. Henderson cites in his bibliography, he would have derived much that is indispensable in the consideration of this subject. Had he proceeded beyond Mr. Alvord's account he would have found that the purchases made by such traders as Pearis and Hite from the Cherokee had something to do with the confusion in the minds of the Indians which made possible Richard Henderson's success at Sycamore Shoals, and with Governor Martin's description of Henderson as a "land pyrate." Nothing is more creditable to the British administration than the steadfast protests of John Stuart against the corruption that the traders brought amongst the Indians, and nothing reveals more clearly the fact that the British administrative system was a failure than the inability of both governors and ministry to support effectively the endeavors of their faithful but helpless servant.

With regard to some of the later phases of the narrative a similar criticism appears to be justified. The dramatic aspect of the struggle between Henderson and George Rogers Clark, which resulted ultimately in the destruction by the Virginia convention of the Transylvania enterprise, strongly appeals to the author. He fails, however, to make clear the important relation to this of the other problems which Virginia had to face at the same time, the activities of the Indiana claimants, the ef-

forts of the Illinois-Wabash company, the attack from Maryland on Virginia's interpretation of its boundaries, the debate in the continental congress. In the later period, too, the financial aspect of the western land question is overlooked, although this had an essential bearing on the development of the Cumberland region as well as on that of Kentucky.

We come next to the central thesis of Mr. Henderson's work — the activities of Richard Henderson in the settlement of his Kentucky colony. The main facts are established beyond question, but as to many details there is need for further documentation. As to Henderson's plans and the employment of Boone by Henderson before 1773, the statements of the author are supported by a number of authorities, but these are preponderantly the expression of later tradition rather than of contemporary evidence. It is certain that Henderson obtained a copy of the familiar opinion of Yorke and Camden as to the validity of private purchases from the Indians, and that he attached great weight thereto; but that he received personally any opinion from the British law officers seems to the reviewer open to question. With regard to the essential reasonableness of the Camden-Yorke opinion, as applied to Henderson's purchase (concerning which Mr. Henderson argues at some length in a footnote) there is room for wide difference of opinion. Mr. Henderson seems to confuse the question of the legality of a title derived from the Indians (as compared with that of a title derived from a royal grant) with the question of the legality on the part of private subjects of any negotiations with the Indians as to land, in contravention of the king's prohibition of such dealings. At any rate the propriety of such action on the part of one who had very shortly before held of the crown a commission as a judge would seem not above question. In a far less serious case of the same sort William Henry Drayton of South Carolina felt himself bound to make a long, detailed explanation of his conduct. It is true that in the development of the Vandalia scheme and in other cases the crown had made itself party to a procedure apparently similar, but in these cases the very great difference was that the leaders did not move toward the settlement of their land until they had received the approval of the crown. If we say that Henderson defied the royal government and anticipated the independence of America, it is to be noted that both the states of Virginia and North Carolina, while they were willing to accept the results of Henderson's purchase, at once made it illegal for any of their citizens to repeat the experiment.

Finally, the character of the government which the Transylvania company planned for its colony indicates that it was hoping to establish a colony of the older type and was seeking to gain for itself a revenue from

quitrents which it was almost beyond the power of well-established provincial governments to collect. This consideration must detract somewhat from the high estimate which the author places upon the statesmanship of the Transylvania proprietors; but it does not militate at all against a just appreciation of the shrewdness and boldness with which they carried their plans into execution.

The book is attractively illustrated, with a serviceable map. With very few exceptions the proof reading of the text has been well done; of the index, unfortunately, the opposite is true.

St. George L. Sioussat

Legislative journals of the council of colonial Virginia. 3 volumes. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond: 1918, 1919)

There have been numerous reasons, all personal, for the delay in reviewing this important publication, but the scholarly character of the work is such that even a belated rendering of account may be excused by those readers of this review who are not familiar with the remarkable output of the staff of the Virginia state library.

The work in local American history has suffered most severely from its sporadic and haphazard character. Only a few institutions have even to-day adopted a carefully planned policy in editing and publishing such as is characteristic of the great European historical institutions. Rather than exercise their minds on a program for performing their duties, councils or boards of state historical institutions seem to prefer to wait, like Macawber, for something to turn up. The something is generally accidental and has no necessary relation to what has already been printed or to what is to be printed in the future. The directors of historical work are only too pleased that they have published or are about to publish an "important [*sic*] manuscript by Mr. Blank, who from long residence in this community has many friends." Public and private funds are all too frequently wasted on the haphazard printing of worthless emanations from untrained minds. Even when the publications are seemingly worthy, much time and effort are dissipated by the lack of plan, coöperation, and prolonged study.

By contrast with the work of the usual state institution the efforts of the Virginia state library are most refreshing. For fifteen years now, since Mr. J. P. Kennedy, then state librarian, determined to publish the journal of the house of burgesses, up to the present time, there have appeared at regular intervals these large volumes of most valuable source material, until the number has reached sixteen — thirteen volumes of the journal of the house of burgesses and these three of the journal of the council, making a completed work, well done.

It will be remembered that Mr. Kennedy began with the last of the

burgesses' journals and the process of publication proceeded backward. With the fifth volume Mr. McIlwaine, as librarian, assumed charge and has remained since then the responsible editor. In the case of his first volume he made some alterations that added greatly to the value of the work. In particular, the inclusion in the appendix of related documents found in the Wisconsin historical society and in the Library of congress gave this fifth volume added value. Such additions occurred only occasionally in the succeeding volumes; but, owing to the failure to find copies of many of the earliest journals, the addition of such documents in the last two volumes, actually the first two of the series, is very large. Another change was the illuminating introduction on the "historical setting" of the period covered by the journals.

The natural successor to these volumes, completed in 1915, was the series of the council's journal, which appeared in three volumes in 1918 and 1919. These are printed in the same quarto format as their predecessors and are on the same fine paper. It is a pity, as the editor writes, that the two journals could not have been combined in a chronological series. Taking into consideration all circumstances, the publications, as far as externals are considered, are among the very best issued by historical institutions in the United States.

Mr. McIlwaine has in the majority of cases been obliged to use the copies of the journals in the public record office at London, since in relatively few cases have the originals been preserved; neither copies nor originals for eleven sessions have been discovered. The first session recorded is that from June 8 to July 7, 1680; the last session the journal of which is preserved is dated March 15, 1773.

In the appendix to volume 3 there are printed the "remnants of the legislative papers," survivors of accidents of fire, removals, and carelessness of officials. What should have filled many volumes can now be printed in one hundred and five pages — a sad loss, for these petitions, propositions, grievances, claims, reports of committees, bills, et cetera, give life to the journals themselves. Many of these documents have already been printed, some in abstract in the *Calendar of Virginia state papers,* volume 1, and some of the rest in full in the *Virginia magazine of history and biography.* The dating of some of these papers offered difficult problems, most of which, but not all, have been solved by the editors. Besides the true legislative papers, Mr. McIlwaine has included some miscellaneous documents closely connected with the history of the general assembly.

The editing of these volumes, like that of those containing the journals of the burgesses, reveals the greatest care, the proof reading having been particularly well done. The state of Virginia is to be congratulated on the completion of these two notable series, for they form, taken in the large,

one of the most important contributions to our national history that has ever been published. For western historians their value is incalculable, since from them the policy of Virginia toward its extensive western claims can be understood.

C. W. A.

Abraham Lincoln and the union. A chronicle of the embattled north. By Nathaniel W. Stephenson. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 272 p. $3.50)

Like its companion volumes, this essay forsakes the straight and narrow road of historical narration for alluring side trips into less traveled fields. This has its value for the mature student of history who rejoices in the freshness that is lent to the well-known outline of the civil war story. Four preliminary chapters undertake to analyze the forces that brought about secession. The author introduces "the two nations of the republic" and the contrasting civilization upon which they were built. He represents the democratic party as "the party of evasion," although he has to strain a point or two to make out a case. In the passing references to the whig party, he exaggerates the desire of the whigs to be positive; whatever he sacrifices as a result, however, one is impressed by his courage in attempting to present motives in politics.

In the treatment of the crisis of 1860-1861, Buchanan becomes a sorry figure; one wonders whether the difficulties of his position were fully appreciated. The essay very properly points out the superficiality of Lincoln's utterances as he journeyed to Washington to take the helm; there is also a discerning interpretation of Lincoln's rôle in the political developments of the period (128 ff.). The author touches most of the problems of the war period, often with the courageous and deft hand of the impressionist. For example, the general problems of foreign relations are set forth, but only a few episodes are actually narrated. The crisis over the Laird rams is passed over with a slight reference that assumes knowledge on the part of the reader, or perhaps suggests an interpretation in which the episode is of little significance. The reader is left in no doubt, however, as to the sacrifices made to their own idealism by the working classes of England; it is perhaps surprising, therefore, that the important influence of the American grain supply upon British policy is completely ignored.

The treatment of Frémont brings out all the greater the need for an intensive study of his part. His acts and motives have been dealt with, favorably or unfavorably, on the basis of the most superficial evidence. One of the most important fruits of sound research on Frémont would

be a better understanding of Lincoln and his policies in the summer and fall of 1861.

Perhaps the real contribution of this study is the presentation of the rôle played by capital, a point long ignored by historians. "The northern capitalist class aimed steadily at being non-sectional, and it made free use of the word national" (p. 5). "That great body of Northern capital which had dealings with the South was ready, as it always had been, to finance any scheme that Southern business desired," even the illegal reopening of the slave trade (p. 44). "In a word, a great portion of Northern capital had its heart where its investments were — in the South." Even these scanty citations suggest an influence which few students have tried to appraise. Under a proper study of these points the records of the stock market must become an important historical source. Mr. Stephenson successfully outlines developments in this field into the graft and profiteering of war time.

If this little volume has convinced the reviewer of anything it is that the story of the civil war has not yet been adequately told. Mr. Stephenson has done as much within the space offered him as many of his more ambitious predecessors; that he has actually been able to make some contribution to the story indicates some of the limitations of previous studies. The volume throughout is suggestive and stimulating.

ARTHUR C. COLE

The port of New York. By Thomas E. Rush. (New York: Doubleday, Page and company, 1920. 361 p.)

This book is a sketchy, popular account of the port of New York, by one who, as surveyor of the port, has had ample opportunity to become familiar with the practical problems connected with our greatest seaport. Although several chapters are devoted to things historical, the volume is not one that will be of much, if any, value to the serious student of history; but it is perhaps due the author to say that he had no thought of writing such a historical treatise. In the words of Mr. Rush himself, the main purpose of the book is "to make it easier for business men, officials, teachers, and students to understand New York Harbour and to demand the utmost competence of New York as a port."

The author seems interested chiefly in presenting an array of facts with argumentative comments to induce municipal, state, and federal authorities to do their duty in the development of the port. Referring to municipal politics, Mr. Rush laments that since the establishment of the greater city, "not a single platform as a pre-election programme has even promised or hinted at a progressive port policy." Even the best of reform mayors have failed to see the "port as a problem of the first

magnitude." Nor have state or federal governments, in the opinion of the author, shown a remotely intelligent appreciation of these responsibilities. The book contains several convenient statistics relating to customs collections, exports, imports, the growth of our merchant marine, immigration, et cetera.

C. H. Rammelkamp

Plymouth and the pilgrims. By Arthur Lord. (New York: Houghton, Mifflin company, 1920. 178 p. $1.50)

This volume contains three lectures delivered at Brown university in 1920 by the president of the Pilgrim society, who has also served as the chairman of the Pilgrim tercentenary commission.

Mr. Lord's attempt to place the pilgrims against a comprehensive new as well as old world background is wholly laudable. Unfortunately, in his first lecture upon "Plymouth before the pilgrims," which would almost justify the title "North America before the pilgrims," the author deals with material with which he is much less familiar than with the pilgrim story. The two other lectures deal with the pilgrims before, at, and after Plymouth. Here we have a condensed but illuminating account of pilgrim history. This part of the volume has unity, is well proportioned, usually quotes good authorities for judgments expressed, but occasionally draws upon imagination to fill in the details of dramatic pictures. The genesis of the independent movement in England is effectively presented.

The volume is interestingly written. Some scholars will differ from the author's views upon such topics as the occasion for and the significance of the *Mayflower* compact and the extent of the influence of the pilgrims upon the evolution of religious liberty. There are not infrequent instances of the careless use of authorities. The volume is not indexed.

George A. Wood

In old Pennsylvania towns. By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott company, 1920. 341 p. $5.00)

In this very delightful volume the author of *Through colonial doorways* has woven into the story of a tour in Pennsylvania by motor and by train many bits of local history. The roads, old and new, the rivers, the inns, and the country places visited, all yield something for Miss Wharton's facile pen; but, as the title indicates, it is chiefly the older towns of the state — now indeed often very modern cities — with which the book has to do. Among the many towns included are Lancaster, York, Gettysburg, Chambersburg, Shippensburg, Carlisle, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Bedford Springs, Bellefonte, Sunbury, Wilkes-Barre, Northumberland, Reading,

and Bethlehem. There is much that is personal and genealogical, and the narrative turns frequently to such topics as Indian affairs, early methods of transportation, the religious sects of Pennsylvania, the development of the coal and the iron industries, the social life at the various springs, together with glimpses here and there of politics and military affairs. There is a wealth of photographic illustration, and an index chiefly of persons and places.

In her introductory chapter Miss Wharton very properly finds fault with the ignorance of "otherwise intelligent persons" with regard to the past events and present attainments of Pennsylvania, and severely criticizes, in particular, some invidious remarks in Mr. Theodore Dreiser's book, *A hoosier holiday;* but she takes her revenge, albeit quite unintentionally, for she consistently gives the name of the writer as "Mr. Theodore Dreisler." It may be suggested, also, that the name of the estate of Langdon Cheves near Lancaster, given by Miss Wharton as "Abbeyville," must surely have been "Abbeville," after the native district of the South Carolinian.

St. George L. Sioussat

Soldiers and sailors of France in the American war for independence (1776-1783). By Captain Joachim Merlant. Translated from the French by Mary Bushnell Coleman. (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1920. 213 p. $2.00)

This book is a brilliant essay on the part played by France in the establishment of the United States. The author has brought before us once more the half-forgotten chivalry of old France, and has made it appear as an order of clever and lovable men. He has explained the negotiations between France and congress with a keenness of perception that indicates that he is intimately acquainted with diplomacy.

Throughout, the book shows a subtle admiration for the American people. It is no less complimentary to the French, and after reading the descriptions of Lafayette, Gerard, De Grasse, and their compatriots, the American historian will feel a little ashamed of his doubts. The author depends largely upon Doniol for his material. He draws, however, from collections of memoirs and letters of French soldiers, many of which are little known in this country and have been little used even by French writers. The narrative is enlivened by many anecdotes that are to the point.

The book will be found useful and entertaining for the general reader and in it the student will find much to give him a better idea of French aid in the American revolution.

Paul C. Phillips

The day of the confederacy. A chronicle of the embattled south. By Nathaniel W. Stephenson. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 214 p. $3.50)

The time has come for the telling of the story of the southern confederacy under separate cover — albeit in its proper relations to the larger development of American history. This Mr. Stephenson has essayed to do within the limits of this series; in his task he has both enjoyed the advantages and labored under the difficulties of a pioneer rôle. For the product of his pen workers in the field of southern history owe him a debt of gratitude. He has shown skill and courage in defining his obligations to his subject-matter; when one doubts the proportions assigned to a phase of one's subject, it is seldom difficult to find an explanation, if not a justification. It seems, however, almost as though he failed to find his pace in the first chapter, "The secession movement." One may doubt the wisdom of ending the first stage of the movement with the federal occupation of Fort Sumter, instead of making the usual division after the secession of South Carolina; his own narrative makes the occupation of Sumter a significant influence in the withdrawal of the states of the lower south — the second phase. So, too, he makes the second phase continue *through* the firing on Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops.

One is puzzled by the few passing references to the southern theory of secession. "Virtually no one denied the right" (p. 7), is the impression one receives; yet one does not know whether or no this means the "constitutional right of secession" as claimed by southern theorists. More and more the student of the sectional controversy is impressed with the fact that to those who opposed as well as to those who planned the secession movement this right of secession was fundamentally the right of revolution, a right which, in the abstract, is denied by no group of Americans. When Mr. Stephenson tells us of the group that wanted to preserve, along with the union, "the principle of local autonomy," one is still more puzzled. This principle, we are assured, "did not perish at Appomatox but was transformed and not destroyed" (p. 12). He laments the impossibility of coördinating the two principles without the price of war; one cannot see that this was accomplished by the war or even in spite of the war — not after the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments. The average reader will confuse the principle of "local autonomy" in this case with that of the rights of "small nationalities," which, after his chapter in *Lincoln and the union* on "The two nations of the republic," Mr. Stephenson might well have presented as the guiding force of those leaders who sought to work out southern rights in a separate political entity. But alas! ten pages of dramatically pre-

sented narrative on the capture of Fort Sumter block the way to such explanations.

It was the irony of fate that Jefferson Davis, a soldier by choice, was called to the helm of the southern republic. Soon he encountered the antagonism of such leaders as Rhett and Yancey, who had prepared the way for the great revolution. This is well set forth, with the plausible suggestion that Davis represented the larger loyalty of the newer states to southern nationality, whereas Rhett was motivated by a traditional devotion to state allegiance. Yet Rhett and his associates had risen above mere state loyalty in their propaganda at the southern commercial conventions of the fifties. Later chapters bring out the extent of the opposition to the Davis government; in spite of the abundant materials, however, no adequate notice is taken of the relations between Davis and Toombs. Mr. Stephenson is frank to say that the administration "blundered in being too secretive" (p. 60) — that it kept the country in the dark in regard to some vital matters that required understanding. "That the secretive habit of the Confederate Government helped cement the opposition cannot be doubted" (p. 65). Then, too, "Davis lacked that insight into human life which marks the genius of the supreme executive" (p. 67). The financial problems of the confederacy are handled in conjunction with the problem of securing foreign help; negotiations with France are emphasized because of the perennial hope the Davis administration entertained of aid from that source. Chapters on the problems of both the government and the people in war time cannot fail to impress even the casual reader with the complexity of the story of the southern struggle for independence. The book carries the different threads forward until the final collapse — while Davis was yet prophesying victory and hoping against hope. The difficult problem of narration is handled with some degree of skill. The reviewer offers the friendly suggestion that the monotony of repeating the unusual form "basal" in the expressions "basal ideas," "basal principles," et cetera, might easily have been avoided.

Arthur C. Cole

Federal military pensions in the United States. By William H. Glasson. (New York: Oxford university press, 1918. 298 p. $2.50)

In 1900 Professor Glasson published in the Columbia *Studies* a monograph on pension legislation in the United States. In the present work, promoted and published by the Carnegie endowment for international peace, he has embodied the results of his more mature studies. The preface is dated November, 1917, and opportunity was taken to include in the appendix a useful analysis of the war insurance act of that year. The important story of civil war pensions covers considerably more than

half of the book, which is characterized throughout by scholarly analysis and clarity of presentation. Disability pensions prevailed, as the author shows, prior to 1890. In that year, service *plus* disability (regardless of the origin of such disability) was made the basis for compensation, and since 1907 pensions have rested on service alone. In discussing pension evils, Professor Glasson shows that neither meritorious service nor poverty has been given due recognition as ground for compensation; that a vicious class of pension agents has defrauded both the government and the claimant; that the pension issue has degraded politics besides imparting a sordid tone to the activities of patriotic societies; and that fiscal reforms have been halted for fear of reducing a surplus upon which the pensioner has been given a preferred claim. He shows that the sum of $5,250,000,000 spent on military pensions since 1865 has benefited a privileged class and a favored section of the country. Though fully sympathetic toward disability pensions, he concludes that American experience in the service-pension system has been unfortunate. Illuminating comment is supplied in President David Kinley's editorial preface, while the purpose of the endowment in issuing such publications is stated in an introductory note by Director J. B. Clark.

J. G. Randall

Slavery in Kentucky. 1792-1865. By Ivan E. McDougle, Ph.D. (Washington: *The journal of negro history,* 1918. 125 p.)

This study was a doctoral dissertation at Clark university. Not counting the three-page introduction, it consists of four chapters: "The development of slavery," "The legal status of slavery," "The social status of slavery," and "Public opinion regarding emancipation and colonization." Sixty per cent of the space is given to the legal and social aspects of the subject. The work is based primarily upon newspapers and statutes, although there are a few footnote references to secondary works. If material exists in county records which would throw light upon actual conditions, the author did not find it.

The existence of slavery in Kentucky is explained as being due to the land system which was established by Virginia and by the stipulation by Virginia, when consent was given for the formation of a new state, that the institution should not be disturbed. From an economic point of view Kentucky was not suitable for the development of slavery. By far the larger number of slave-owners held fewer than ten slaves each, and fifty per cent of them held fewer than five slaves each. The author concludes that there was little or no basis, so far as slavery in Kentucky was concerned, for the statement made by antislavery people that slaves were regularly bred and reared in the border states for the southern market.

The most interesting point in connection with the legal status of slavery is the gradual evolution of the rights of the negro in servitude which the author associates with the antislavery movement, although the coming of abolitionist influence led to stricter laws regarding slaves. The evidence here presented supports the statement which has usually been made that slavery was at its best in the border states.

The chief value of this study is that it furnishes additional proof to support conclusions previously held rather than that it contributes new conclusions. On the whole, the work is very well done, including proof reading, and there are no mistakes of any consequence.

Wilson P. Shortridge

The Hispanic nations of the new world. A chronicle of our southern neighbors. By William R. Shepherd. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 251 p. $3.50)

In this volume Professor Shepherd's intention was evidently to describe to the general reader the history of the nations of Hispanic America from the prerevolutionary epoch to the present day. Typographically it presents an admirable appearance. It contains maps of Hispanic America in 1783, 1828, and 1919, and it is illustrated by portraits of eight Hispanic-American leaders from Simón Bolívar to Porfirio Díaz.

The book begins with a description of social and political conditions in Latin America in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This is followed by an outline of the movements which ended in the Spanish-American revolution, as well as by an account of the separation of Brazil from Portugal. In a chapter concerning the age of the dictators the author discusses the epoch from 1830 to 1854, when dictators frequently appeared on the political stage in Spanish-America. He also describes the intervention of Spain in the Dominican republic and French intervention in Mexico. A chapter is devoted to the changes that took place in Hispanic America from 1876 to 1889. In other chapters some attention is given to the rôle which Hispanic-American nations have played in the international life of Europe and the United States. The longest chapter in the book is occupied by a brief consideration of recent happenings in the republics of South America. The book ends with a chapter about Pan-Americanism and the great war.

This volume contains a brief bibliography which was evidently designed for the general reader, for it is composed mostly of titles in English. Here and there, because of compression, or for other reasons, statements in the text occasionally lack exactness. As attention is necessarily focused upon political events, economic and social conditions in Hispanic

America are neglected. Still this handsome book furnishes in small compass a lucid account of the history of Hispanic America that should interest the average man.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

Spain's declining power in South America. 1730-1806. By Bernard Moses. (Berkeley: University of California press, 1919. xx, 440 p. $4.00)

Professor Moses has added another volume to his list of books that deal with Hispanic-American history. In a fashion somewhat like that in which he treats the founding of Spanish settlements in America in his work entitled *The Spanish dependencies in South America* and in his volume entitled *The establishment of Spanish rule in America,* in the present volume he considers certain phases of the age when Spanish power and influence in America seemed to be waning. The volume under review has a very intimate relation to the author's volume entitled *South America on the eve of emancipation.* For many pages of *Spain's declining power in South America* are identical, or almost identical, with the pages which treat of the same or corresponding topics in the earlier volume. Roughly, about one quarter of the present volume has been republished from the earlier volume without any mention of that fact.

Most of the chapters in this book are concerned with some features of life in the Spanish dependencies in South America which illustrate the growing discontent of the colonists with the existing régime. Early in the book the author formulates a hypothesis with which not all students of Hispanic-American history will agree: namely, that the population of Spanish South America upon the eve of the revolutionary movement was composed, on the one hand, of a group of peninsular Spaniards and of office holders who cherished Spanish customs and traditions, and, on the other hand, of a faction composed of creoles, *mestizos,* and Indians who were antagonistic toward the rule of Spain in America. Then he makes a survey of certain conditions which existed in Spanish South America from 1730 to 1750. He discusses the futile attempt of Spain and Portugal to delimit their boundary in South America according to the treaty of 1750. Considerable space is appropriately given to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America in accordance with a decree issued by Charles III. Chapters 5 and 6, which deal respectively with the creation of the viceroyalty of La Plata and the revolt of Tupac Amaru, have in considerable part been taken from the author's volume on *South America on the eve of emancipation.* These accounts are followed by a description of the revolt of the *comuneros* in the viceroyalty of New Granada in 1781. The plot formed by two Frenchmen and a Chilean, which has been designated as the conspiracy of the three Antonios, against Spanish

domination in the captaincy general of Chile is next described. Chapter 9, which deals with the reorganization of the viceroyalty of La Plata by the ordinances issued in 1782 and 1802, is in considerable part taken from the author's earlier volume. In a chapter concerning the awakening interest in Spanish South America in science and politics, the author interestingly describes the establishment of literary journals in Quito, Bogotá, and Lima; he sketches the botanical researches of José Celestino Mutis in the viceroyalty of New Granada, and discusses the dissemination of French revolutionary philosophy in that region by Antonio Nariño. A small amount of space is occupied with a description of conditions in Lima and Santiago at the end of the eighteenth century. A larger space is taken up with the revolts against Spain in the captaincy general of Venezuela in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In the same chapter a description is given of the filibustering expedition which Francisco de Miranda led from New York City against Venezuela in 1806. An account of the British capture and loss of Buenos Aires is based upon the account in *South America on the eve of emancipation.* Some material is presented in the last chapter about conditions in Peru and Chile at the opening of the nineteenth century.

The volume is written in a lucid and, in general, an interesting style. It has, however, no bibliography, as such; although it is equipped with footnotes, they do not mention some important titles; and sufficient care has not been taken in reading the proof. In spite of its shortcomings, this book is a useful addition to the small number of volumes in English that deal with the later decades of South American colonial history.

William Spence Robertson

John Marshall and the constitution. A chronicle of the supreme court. By Edward S. Corwin. [The chronicles of America. Edited by Allen Johnson under the supervision of the committee on publications of the Yale university council] (New Haven: Yale university press, 1919. 242 p. 3.50)

Until quite recently John Marshall has too exclusively been the subject of bar association eulogies and too seldom the object of scientific historical scholarship. This little volume performs, therefore, a highly useful service in giving the reader not only a vivid picture of Marshall as a man, but also an entirely new impression of his statemanship and his place in American political life.

Professor Corwin makes it clear at the outset that at the time of Marshall's accession to the bench the supreme court had gained no hold upon the confidence or the imagination of the country, had become the subject of a bitter partisan wrangle, and was above all lacking in political leadership. At many points in the book the author reiterates his belief that

Marshall consciously supplied this political leadership and not only seized upon but actually created opportunities for announcing his constitutional doctrines. This is clearly brought out in the treatment of "Jefferson's war on the judiciary," in the course of which Marbury *v.* Madison is discussed and Marshall's famous decision is characterized as "a political coup of the first magnitude." In his discussion of the Burr trial Professor Corwin criticizes Marshall's doctrine that there can be no such thing as constructive treason against the United States and suggests that in reality the recent espionage act "scraps Marshall's doctrine pretty completely." The reader finds a clear discussion of McCulloch *v.* Maryland, as well as of the leading cases under the contract clause of the constitution. The frequently maligned decision in the Dartmouth college case is defended as a useful forerunner of the "modern rule of reason" as a check upon arbitrary legislative power. A chapter on "The menace of state rights" throws interesting light upon the bitter attacks directed against the supreme court by state legislatures and by members of congress as a result of Marshall's nationalistic decisions. A brief description is given of Marshall's personal associations with friends and neighbors and an "epilogue" furnishes an appraisal of his work in the light of the subsequent development of our constitutional law.

Professor Corwin's treatment is critical and philosophical. The book has very high literary merit, is adequately indexed, and contains a brief critical bibliographical note.

ROBERT EUGENE CUSHMAN

On the Ohio. By H. Bennett Abdy. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1919. 300 p. $2.50)

This book is a description of a steamboat journey from St. Louis to Pittsburgh by three western artists bent on securing sketches of the river and of the river towns. Traveling leisurely and stopping often, they luxuriated in the intermittent life of the levees, in languid villages with somnolent streets, and in the picturesque steamboat types. All these the author describes as one who loves his work. The illustrations of the book, which are good, are from sketches made on the trip.

The historical material in this book consists of the comments by the author. Only a few typical ones can be given. Louisville, says Mr. Abdy, probably came into existence as a "portage," which is a very logical view to take of it if, as Mr. Abdy does, we visualize the rather mild-mannered rapids there as "falls." At Maysville the great feud trials were held and a Kentucky governor was shot from ambush. This statement would indicate a mortality among Kentucky governors hitherto unsuspected. Frankfort has always been accorded the exclusive honors in gubernatorial extinction. On Blennerhassett island Hamilton and

Burr fought their famous duel and Hamilton was killed. Since Hamilton was killed at Weehawken also it might be well to know, in the interests of science, at which place he died first. Marietta, we are told, is the oldest town west of the Alleghenies, which is no more surprising perhaps than the reference to the "historic battlefield where General Custer won his famous fight with the Indians of the upper Missouri" (p. 265).

Typographical errors are few. Such no doubt are the "Standard Old Company" (p. 139) and the allusion to cattle "taking freight" on going aboard ship (p. 104).

R. S. Cotterhill

Georgia as a proprietary province. The execution of a trust. By James Ross McCain, Ph.D. (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1917. 357 p. $2.50)

Diary of Count Percival. Afterwards first Earl of Egmont. Volume I, 1730-1733 [Historical manuscripts commission, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*] (London, 1920. 447 p. 2 s)

Professor McCain's book is one of the many the writing of which was prompted by the late Professor Osgood; and this fact alone explains the phrasing of its title, which is misleading. Georgia was, indeed, never a "proprietary province," for the persons in whom its charter vested authority were strictly debarred from property rights in the enterprise. Georgia was a trustee colony and ought always to be called such.

The book itself is an admirable monograph, the first to be written in its field since the publication of the *Georgia colonial records* made copious material readily accessible. It is not a narrative of occurrences nor a picture of life, but a searching analysis of organization, official personnel, problems and procedure. It illuminates many points previously obscure or misunderstood. It shows, for example, that the board of trustees held more frequent meetings than did its executive council, and it explains this anomaly by reference to the charter stipulation of eight members as a quorum of the council, whereas the matter of the board's quorum was left to the board's own determination and was fixed at three members. Accordingly many a meeting called as of the council but finding a quorum wanting resolved itself into a session of the board instead and proceeded to the transaction of business. By reference to the peculiar provisions of the charter in another connection Professor McCain makes it clear why the trustees never appointed a governor of the colony but gave even to Oglethorpe mere power of attorney.

Upon a few points which preceding writers have treated with assurance Professor McCain raises doubts. But in one of these, namely, the origination of the debtor-colony project by James Oglethorpe, the earlier assurance appears to be vindicated by Viscount Percival's diary, the first

volume of which has been published since this monograph was written; for Percival records that on April 1, 1730, Oglethorpe spent more than three hours of conversation in explaining "his" project, and suggests no one else in connection with its authorship.

Percival, better known as the Earl of Egmont, was so completely won to the charitable project that it became one of his chief concerns. His copious diary is accordingly sprinkled with items concerning it, many of which are quite freshly illuminating. They tell, for example, that the number of debtor prisoners liberated in pursuance of the parliamentary act of 1729 was estimated at ten thousand; that the location first contemplated for the colony was in the West Indies; that the issue of the charter was delayed for many months by the king's personal dislike for some of its provisions; and that the first embarkation of settlers was sent forth when the funds of the trustees amounted to no more than two thousand pounds, despite the advice of the experienced Lord Carteret that a sum five times as great would be necessary for any assurance of success.

Aside from its Georgia data, Percival's diary contains such a quantity of substantial matter upon English politics and society that its publication is an event of signal importance.

The colonization of North America. 1492-1783. By Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall. (New York: The Macmillan company, 1920. 609 p. $4.25)

The present work on colonization of North America marks a distinct departure in the production of texts in American history. It was prepared, so the preface states, "in response to a clear demand for a text written from the standpoint of North America as a whole, and giving a more adequate treatment of the colonies of nations other than England." Such a text would have been impossible a generation earlier because of the absence of any demand and the impossibility of finding an author sufficiently equipped to undertake it. It is significant that the historians to do the work should be found in the institutions on the western rim of the continent and, therefore, most out of touch with the hitherto dominant provincialism of the Atlantic coast communities.

The conception of a text based upon continental development on two widely sundered ocean fronts is distinctly a product of our twentieth-century experience and international alliances. It is the very antithesis of that American insularity which has been the subject of remark of European critics of our manners and morals for over a century. Now that we have come into our full North American heritage with a Panama canal to operate and project on two ocean frontages, and far-sundered territories like Alaska and the Philippines to defend, it is fit and proper

for our historians to plan histories and to prepare popular texts that describe what has taken place and express the change that has come in our national territorial outlook.

It is not at all remarkable that in this new volume under consideration nearly one-fifth of the material deals with the Spanish colonies and their relations with the French and the English. As Dr. Bolton has stated more than once, we have unduly neglected the part of Spain in the history of America and underestimated its contribution to the actual colonial status in the new world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, the new interest that is at present being manifested in South America and in the Spanish language makes it quite necessary that scholars turn their attention to a more careful study of the Spanish foundations of the new republic south of us. Undoubtedly this increased interest in Spanish culture now being manifested in our institutions of learning is closely connected with the marked commercial activities between ourselves and our South American neighbors. But whatever its source, the trend is undoubtedly permanent and will express itself in a great variety of historical works bearing on different phases of Spanish history.

European students of history will welcome this departure from our earlier form of writing as giving them an opportunity to study as a group all the new states that have developed here since colonization. When we can enlarge this idea so as to present the western hemisphere in a single study we shall have a history which may fairly supplement the works on European history as a whole which are so useful to students in both the special and general fields. Our recent international contacts and policies make it imperative that we abandon the self-centered type of history writing and attempt something on a somewhat more generous and catholic basis. If the great war has been of service to us it is perhaps in that we have somewhat enlarged our horizon and have begun consciously to fit ourselves into the larger international scheme of things. This new volume of history appears to be one of the many indications that we are awakening to a truer realization of our national relation to the larger community responsibilities and points of contact.

Another excellent feature of the volume is its admirable compression of over-expanded chapters in our national history. To find room for the new material the older discussions were carefully examined and analyzed with a view to economy of space. The result is very gratifying, for there is evident in the new product a precision and clarity as unusual as it is refreshing. With the added space gained it was then possible to introduce the new material without visible crowding and with no loss of momentum. In reading through this work and going over its general plan and method of presentation one is irresistibly reminded of Franklin's

comment on the French revolution, "*Ca ira*, it goes." The best test of a successful work is, after all, the ability of its author to marshal his details and to move from one conclusion or demonstration to another in an orderly manner. This is what the work on North American colonization does through every chapter, leaving the reader with a clear conception of one of the most complicated phases of American history. In point of general construction the work is admirably adapted to class use. The maps are not all new but each is exactly suited to the needs of that portion of the text it is designed to illustrate. The bibliographical notes are well selected for actual use and the index is especially well arranged. Altogether this new venture is well adapted at every point to convince and persuade a large and influential constituency of scholars and general readers that its methods are fully justified by results and that a new field for scholarship has definitely been opened for future work.

O. G. Libby

The Illinois country. 1673-1818. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. [*Centennial history of Illinois,* volume I] (Springfield: Illinois centennial commission, 1920. 523 p.)

The first volume of the *Centennial history of Illinois* was assigned to Dr. Alvord as the editor of a remarkable series of volumes including a mass of original documents bearing on the early history of the Illinois country. With the production of the present work the author brings to a close a piece of historical research that has placed him among the foremost historians of the middle west.

Histories of single states have multiplied in recent years, but seldom has the initial volume of a state history been produced under such favorable auspices as has this one. The author has been associated with historical research for so many years that he has built up at his university a historical seminar of unusual quality and one the graduates of which have each made valuable contributions in the field of research. What must be to Dr. Alvord one of the most gratifying features of this present piece of work is the fact that many of those who gave him the most valuable assistance were those whom he had himself trained in research and without whose aid his labors must necessarily have been very much prolonged. Seminar collaboration at its best is by no means common and the author is certainly to be congratulated upon being able to focus so successfully the finest product of his years of teaching upon the difficult problems of research.

In compressing into the compass of a single volume the mass of material already assembled and published in earlier works, the author has never lost sight of his subject. He has, also, avoided producing merely a learned treatise; on the contrary, every effort has been made to interpret and present the pre-state history of Illinois for the general reader as well

as for the research student. The reader is presented with a clear picture of the Illinois country as a home for shifting and warring Indian tribes harried on the east by the ambitious and scheming Iroquois while held in check on the west by the powerful Dakota confederacy. Then follows a sketch of the operations of the fur-traders and the far-reaching plans for the opening of the Mississippi and the Spanish and English intrigues with the tribes of the southwest directed against this imperial plan for colonial expansion. Nor is the author less skillful in making plain the complicated intrigue involved in the efforts of the Quebec and New Orleans authorities, each in their own way to monopolize the increasing power and wealth as well as the strategic advantages of this middle colony of France in America. All these phases of earliest Illinois history are presented with a skill and precision which can come only from that intimate mastery of detail acquired in the toilsome editing of texts and in the impartial sifting of evidence in the mass of hitherto unknown manuscripts. With equal skill and a full grasp of the larger phases of the subject, the author connects the story of this region with European affairs, giving for the first time a clear-cut picture of Illinois as a colony of France and later of England, so that there remains with us as vivid a conception of the problems of trade, religion, government, and Indian affairs for this far-away western colony as we have hitherto possessed for such better-known colonies as Virginia, Pennsylvania, or Massachusetts.

The importance of the Illinois country in the events leading up to and during the American revolution is discussed with the proper perspective of the English ministerial policy and the antagonistic attitude of the coast colonies toward any interference with their charter rights to western lands. In the average text of United States history this entire period of Illinois history down to the war of 1812 is given but scant and perfunctory attention. There is obviously so much that is new and vitally important in what is presented in this work that it is evident that our writers must in the future give more space to the national aspects of this portion of our early history, even to the exclusion of much classic but otherwise unimportant material that has so long cumbered our textbooks and manuals of United States history.

Dr. Alvord has been successful also in bringing the Illinois colony into vital connection with the movement of emigration from the eastern colonies over the Appalachian mountains. He has, undoubtedly, given less attention than is justified by the facts to the migration by way of Cumberland Gap and the river valleys of western Tennessee. But after reading his chapters on "The struggle for the west" and "The country of the Illinois" we can accept his demonstration that there was an actual incorporation of this section of the west into the life of the nation and that this inclusion of the Illinois country had an important influence in the

evolution of our national territorial policy. The placing of this new colony among our pioneer communities makes it necessary to enlarge considerably our already large list of western national characters. It is clear that we must find a place for a few of those French traders and priests who founded these early settlements and some of the commandants of early posts are equally worthy of mention. We can no longer ignore, moreover, the claims of the leading merchants at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, nor those of the early American traders and merchants who entered the Illinois country before George Rogers Clark and paved the way for his conquest of the British posts. In one respect the volume is somewhat disappointing. There are no maps showing the later surveys and the locations of early forts, trading posts, and missions. The map of the Illinois country opposite page 154 should be supplemented by one or two maps of Illinois and the entire Ohio valley showing these important points. This would enable students of the early history of this region to trace readily the narrative of events and to find upon maps accessible in any library the location of all the historic places given in the present work.

From the point of view of research in the middle west this volume holds a significant place. It was produced as a portion of a more pretentious work which covers the entire history of the state. This portion is the first of its kind to be based upon the new material recently made accessible and it points the way for similar enterprises in research and history writing for which there is great need in the whole Mississippi valley. It is to be hoped that the author in his new location will establish a research laboratory similar to the one which has produced such admirable works as the present volume, and that he may begin anew his invaluable researches in the almost unworked fields that lie open before all students of history in the west.

O. G. Libby

The autobiography of Andrew Carnegie. With illustrations. (New York and Boston: Houghton Mifflin company, 385 p. $5.00)

An autobiography of a man who occupied as prominent a place in American life for nearly half a century as did Andrew Carnegie cannot fail to attract the attention of anyone interested in the slightest degree in the events of a period so filled with pregnant possibilities. Yet the evaluation of such a work by the historian must be based on certain factors which do not necessarily appeal to the general reader. The former looks for statements or even for hints which will give him a better comprehension of the forces which he seeks to understand and perchance to enumerate and interpret; he feels that he has a certain right to find explained forces which hitherto have been evidenced only by surface mani-

festations. Particularly, when one considers to what an extent Mr. Carnegie figured in the economic world of his day, consequently in all the maze of interwoven social elements, one opens his book with keen expectation, an expectation which is to a considerable degree unfulfilled.

After all, one does not find much that is new. To be sure, there are many incidental bits of personal reminiscence which add a few shadings to the composite picture of American development; one is grateful for the sketches of the men who, especially in the earlier and formative years of Mr. Carnegie's life, played such vital rôles in the industrial phases of a growing community. Some incidental illumination comes with the accounts of men like Thomas A. Scott, Junius Spencer Morgan and his son, John Pierpont Morgan; of all the associates of early Pittsburgh days and of later New York experiences. Some readable pages throw a little more light on affairs in Washington during the first days of the civil war. Mr. Carnegie's views of Simon Cameron, Lincoln's first secretary of war, do not accord with most accepted notions; it is not, for instance, a commonly held opinion that "if other departments had been as well managed as was the War Department under Cameron, all things considered, much of disaster would have been avoided," and that it was only popular clamor that finally forced the president to make a change to Stanton.

As a self-revelation, not altogether frank but perhaps as much so as could be expected of any man, this autobiography presents its greatest contribution: Andrew Carnegie writes about himself and the things he did, and allows to appear much of what was going on in his mind as he gazed back over the past. If there could have been more evidence of a realization of the economic transition in which he played a part, of the vast problems which were being created by the activities of just such "captains of industry" as himself; if, out of his experience, something more constructive about those questions which now face the world of interrelated industry and political effort had been adduced, one would feel not only that Mr. Carnegie had been a dynamic force in his day but also that he had condensed from the rich treasure of his experience something to guide those who come after in grappling with the results.

None can dispute the general interest of the work. Even though it is but a sparse sheaf of jottings which the gleaner may store away in his bin, he puts down the book with the feeling that he has perused something which has been fully worth while, and something which leaves a clean taste in the mouth; if "Andy" has been patently sure of the "rightness of Andy," as one reviewer puts it, nevertheless he is glad to have known something more of that Andy, and to have breathed a little of that eternal optimism which permeated the man.

L. B. S.

The American supreme court as an international tribunal. By Herbert A. Smith. (New York: Oxford university press, 1920. 120 p.)

The purpose of the author of this book is to show what light the experience of the supreme court in disposing of cases which have arisen between the states of the American union throws upon the problem of the judicial settlement of disputes between the nations of the world. A preliminary chapter deals with the origin of the supreme court and is followed by a careful analysis of the extent of the jurisdiction of that tribunal in cases to which a state is a party. The author then discusses the three types of interstate controversies which have arisen, i. e., boundary cases, actions to enforce state debts, and cases of injury by state action. He devotes a separate chapter to the problem of the enforcement of judgments against states. From this study the following conclusions are deduced: First, not all cases between nations can be settled judicially. Second, the existence of an international court will stimulate the practice of submitting controversies to judicial decision. Third, certain vital questions, such as the problem of insuring compliance with decrees, must be clearly provided for in advance. Finally, such a court must administer a definite and written system of international law.

While some of the author's statements are perhaps debatable, his treatment of cases is accurate and balanced. In connection, however, with the statement (p. 93) that the supreme court was never asked to decide "whether a state could lawfully secede from the Union" one would naturally expect to find an allusion to the case of Texas *v.* White (7 *Wallace,* 141) decided in 1868 in which the question was passed upon. The book is written in a clear and interesting style and should prove suggestive to students of international politics and useful to students of American constitutional history and law.

Robert Eugene Cushman

The frontier in American history. By Frederick Jackson Turner. (New York: Henry Holt and company, 1920. 375 p.)

For many years Mr. Turner's modesty has caused him to refuse the urgent appeals of his friends for the republication of his numerous essays on the frontier development. Finally, however, he has been persuaded to present in convenient form to his many students and admirers these collected essays. Every student of history must congratulate himself on their publication.

Mr. Turner occupies a unique position in the field of western American history. Before his day the west had many historians, most of them belonging to the large class of the untrained and unscientific; but even the scholarly Parkman and Winsor held a different place among the westerners than that which Mr. Turner has made for himself. They worked

alone on their problems and their works became storehouses from which the incapable drew, but neither of them attracted around him a group of younger men, inspired by the genius of the master and by his enthusiasm for all things western. This has been the great achievement of Mr. Turner. To him belongs the honor of founding the scientific school of western history. Out of his seminar at Madison have come almost all the men who are to-day reinterpreting American history from the new viewpoint first established by this pioneer scholar.

Even those who never enjoyed the advantages of his teaching have been drawn into the circle of his influence by his personal magnetism and scholarly attainments. It is a pleasure for the reviewer, trained in a very different school, to acknowledge his indebtedness to him, after he began research in Mr. Turner's chosen subject. The writer's correspondence files contain many long letters from him; these are filled with references to various knotty questions, and they represent only one of his many acts of kindness. How generously does he give!

Mr. Turner's special genius lies in synthesis. It was by synthesis, based, of course, on analysis, that he arrived at a new viewpoint for our national history and laid the foundation for its reinterpretation. Some day in the distant future when a history of American historiography is written, Mr. Turner will be given a very notable place. No one since Bancroft has so completely redirected the course of historical research as has this westerner. His emphasis on the frontier his analysis of its conditions, his insistence on its influence on the building of American character, his history of its movement across the continent and his proof of its weight in politics and national issues have formed the vantage ground for his new outlook on American history, the value of which his students and followers are further proving.

In this volume are collected the essays that treat of the significance of the frontier, and the several essays from the author's pen on other subjects are omitted. The first in the series is that famous one on the "Significance of the frontier," which is best known in the form published in the *Report* of the American historical association for 1893. The other essays, many of them addresses, are, for the most part, amplifications of the same theme; and the student may, therefore, find a continuous reading of the volume somewhat tedious, because the essays are all pitched to the same key. Taken individually, however, each essay is charming, most inspiring, and, in a way, perfect.

One essay stands out from the rest because of its different character, and it is fortunate that it will now have a wider circle of readers. This is essay number three, "The old west." In its significance and value it is equal to the better-known "Significance of the frontier." Here we have Mr. Turner at his best and revealing not only the power of synthesis

but also that of analysis. Since its appearance in 1907, the reviewer has regarded it as one of the most important essays ever penned by an American historian. Mr. Turner has in it traced the history of the back country of the colonies, the territory lying between the line of the falls and the foot of the mountains, where was found the first typical frontier society; or, as he expresses it: "in the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics." Mr. Turner's power of minute research is exhibited in the intimate description of the various communities pushing their way through underbrush and forests toward the mountains. We are shown successively the manner of the filling up of the hinterlands of all the colonies from New England southward and we learn that in this region was developed a homogeneous and nationalistic society from north to south that differed greatly from that living in particularistic self-sufficiency along the coast.

During the past year we have been regaled on the glories of the pilgrim fathers, generally hopelessly mixed by the orators with the puritans of Massachusetts bay colony. We have been told that all that was good in American life has been imparted to it by these same Yankee forefathers; and, inspired by fear of the modern radicals, the same orators have asserted that the hope of the future lies in a return to the truth as taught by Cotton Mather and many of his kind. In their enthusiasm for conservatism the remembrance of witch-burning and Quaker whippings has not disturbed these would-be disciples of suppression.

To this enthusiasm for the New Englander with its exaggeration of the Yankee influence, this book of essays by Mr. Turner is an excellent antidote. In his essay on the "Contributions of the west to American democracy," Mr. Turner takes a much wider view of the problem and bases his opinion on a much more careful analysis than does the average pilgrim tercentenary orator. He concludes: "It was, therefore, in the West, as it was in the period before the Declaration of Independence, that the struggle for democratic development first revealed itself, and in that area the essential ideas of American democracy had already appeared" (p. 242). And again: "Jefferson was the first prophet of American democracy, and when we analyse the essential features of his gospel, it is clear that the Western influence was the dominant element" (p. 250). On page 259 occurs an excellent description of the process of democratization: "Most important of all has been the fact that an area of free land has continually lain on the western border of the settled area of the United States. Whenever social conditions tended to crystallize in the East, whenever capital tended to press upon labor or political restraints to impede the freedom of the mass, there was this gate of escape

to the free conditions of the frontier. These free lands promoted individualism, economic equality, freedom to use democracy. Men would not accept inferior wages and a permanent position of social subordination when this promised land of freedom and equality was theirs for the taking. In a word, then, free lands meant free opportunities. Their existence has differentiated the American democracy from the democracies which have preceded it, because ever, as democracy in the East took the form of highly specialized and complicated industrial society, in the West it kept in touch with primitive conditions, and by action and reaction these two forces have shaped our history'' (p. 259).

Undoubtedly the blood of the pilgrims and the puritans has added greatly to the growth of the American nation; but the real cradle of the nation was not east of the Hudson river, not even east of the Appalachians, but in the heart of the continent, the Mississippi basin where were gathered the sons of all peoples — New Englanders, New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, southerners, Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, children of the north and south, the east and west of both hemispheres; and here these diverse bloods have mingled to make the American people.

For several years the present writer has been wishing for a favorable opportunity to make a few critical remarks about one of the most classical passages in Mr. Turner's writings, one that has become a part of the consciousness of all students of American history. The appearance of this volume of essays seems to invite him to speak out in public. The passage referred to occurs in the first essay (p. 12): ''Stand at Cumberland and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file — the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer — and the frontier has passed by.'' Later in the same essay (p. 19) he adopts the Reverend John Mason Peck's analysis of the farming group into three classes — hunter-farmers, pioneer farmers, and ''men of capital and enterprise.'' Thus we are asked to imagine the moving across the continent of a veritable wild-west show with its menagerie, clowns, and calliopes. Probably the majority of teachers of American history in our colleges and universities delight their students by picturing to them this interesting spectacle as seen by the observer at Cumberland Gap. The reviewer pleads guilty to the indictment.

The parade of this wild-west show as described by Mr. Turner lacks one important figure, Buffalo Bill himself, the most important and decidedly the most picturesque personage in the procession. In Buffalo Bill, the *entrepreneur,* one can see the land speculator who always followed hard on the heels of the fur-trader — in the case of the French procession at times being identical with him, for both Jolliet and La Salle were as much interested in land as in furs. Let us take our stand

at Cumberland Gap and watch pass the reconstructed line of march. Of course our eyes first catch the picturesque figure of Daniel Boone, in the popular mind the prototype of all hunter-farmers. But who is the well-dressed gentleman following so hard on the heels of Boone and evidently giving orders to this hero of the wilderness? That is Richard Henderson, the well-educated and eloquent lawyer of the North Carolina bar, who is responsible for the appearance in this region of Boone and of all the others who are making up this procession. Let us also take our stand on the Ohio river, that highway to the west, and watch pass the stream of boats. Here we shall see among the first the fur-traders from Pennsylvania and Virginia; but among them or coming soon after are such men as Thomas Walker, Christopher Gist, George Morgan, graduate of Princeton and prominent Philadelphia trader, Colonel John Connolly, Colonel George Washington — all interested in the exploration of western lands.

There is still another class of men not mentioned by Mr. Turner, and these are generally as early comers into the hinterland as the land speculators: the officers and soldiers of the western garrisons; they saw the west in its primeval dress, whether they carried the lilies of France, the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, or the flag of the American eagle.

The analysis of the later population into three classes, *a la* Mr. Peck, is also subject to criticism. The reviewer's own researches have given him a very close view of the population of Kentucky and Illinois in the early days. Mr. Peck to the contrary notwithstanding, all three classes arrived in both states practically contemporaneously. For instance, the people who composed the population of the state of Illinois in 1818 had for the most part all arrived within the borders of the territory within the previous decade; and among the population were such men as the English farmers led by Morris Birkbeck and southern gentlemen such as Nathaniel Pope and Edward Cole. The picture, therefore, of a succession of waves of immigration is incorrect. The figure should be a flood. Thus I have spoken, but it is only fair to say that my speaking has occurred some twenty-eight years after Mr. Turner wrote the famous passage.

C. W. A.

The United States: an experiment in democracy. By Carl Becker. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920. 333 p. $2.50)

The publishers' announcement, as is too often the case, unfortunately, gives a somewhat misleading description of Professor Becker's *The United States: an experiment in democracy,* for it should not be dragged into the class of historical narratives. Every thoughtful student of American history sooner or later develops his own philosophy or, if you prefer, his own interpretation of American development. In most cases,

this does not differ radically from the interpretations of others; but an added touch here and a different emphasis there, with some new ideas, render it peculiarly his own. Professor Becker's latest book is essentially of this type.

The author would be, and by frequent quotations he practically is, the first to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Turner. That fact, with the added statement that the interpretation presented is in accord with the trend of American historical study of the last twenty-five years, should be sufficient to convey to most readers its dominating characteristic. It is the truth regarding American democracy as the author sees it; it is for the most part neither startling nor strikingly original, but it is told with the charm of style and felicity of phrase for which the author has achieved a reputation. Because it is so well done, the book is worth while for the sole purpose of helping to spread and to get accepted these ideas of American development. But it contains something more than that, and for the present reviewer its greatest value lies in the stimulating conclusion for which the rest has served as an explanation or introduction.

Professor Becker's starting point is that Europeans have seen in America "the image of democracy itself"; then the author proceeds to describe the character and the origins of American democracy, the course of its development, and its varying aspects; finally he leads up to the all-important consideration of how it may be made to endure. The essence of American democracy is to be sought in the general equality of opportunity and of conditions. It was "not our free government, but our fortunate economic situation, that has been the solid basis of our equality; and this fortunate situation is unhappily rapidly passing away." The explanation of the changed conditions is to be found in the taking up of the unoccupied land, and in the development of a concentrated and complex industrial life. In consequence of these things, we are now passing from the condition in which the all-important question was that of the production of wealth to the situation which has long been familiar in Europe, where the problem is that of the distribution of wealth.

In answer to the objection that interference by government with private initiative is a socialistic doctrine and contrary to the spirit of this government, Professor Becker claims that the government of the United States always has exercised "whatever governmental activity may be necessary to assure that fundamental equality of opportunity which is indispensable to true liberty and the very essence of democracy." But in order to meet the present demands, it is suggested that democracy involves "a radical modification of the modern state rather than an extension of its already overgrown powers." And the author concludes

with an interesting and stimulating statement of the form which such modification seems likely to take.

MAX FARRAND

When buffalo ran. By George Bird Grinnell. (New Haven: Yale university press, 1920. 114 p. $2.50)

This little sketch of Indian life on the great plains three quarters of a century ago, issued by the Yale press as "a true story of Indian life," is not, as the casual reader might imagine, a biography by the author, but presumably a reproduction of the story of aboriginal life. For historical purposes it would be somewhat more satisfactory if the personality of the narrator and the circumstances of obtaining the story were set forth; for not even the tribe of the narrator is indicated. If any future writer should desire to quote from the book, or refer to it, he would be obliged to use the same indefinite style, and to rely solely on the weight of Mr. Grinnell's name for his authority.

The style of the story is notably convincing. The reader feels that he is reading facts. And yet the picture is unquestionably idealized by the omission of anything that might be repulsive to refined tastes. There are, of course, exceptions, but ordinarily the Indian is merely a human being of a lower class. His common thought and conversation are not on any such high plane as in this story. In fact, his favorite stories and jokes would not be admissible in polite society, as anyone may see from the folklore stories collected and printed by the Bureau of ethnology. On the other hand, the idealization is probably serving a beneficent purpose in its tendency to secure a belated justice to the survivors of the Indian tribes. In this aspect it is altogether commendable.

From the strictly historical standpoint, the reader should remember that we are now in the era of apotheosis of the Indian. Our ancestors underestimated and, as a rule vilified him; but in the recoil, present-day writers usually go to the other extreme. Possibly this is due to the utilitarian character of the American mind. Having acquired practically all the material valuables of the Indian, we are now exploiting the romance of his former existence to enhance the value of the place names and other relics that are left to us.

J. P. DUNN

American political ideas. Studies in the development of American political thought, 1865-1917. By Charles Edward Merriam. (New York: The Macmillan company, 1920. 481 p. $2.75)

Remembering the notable contribution which Professor Merriam made to the literature of scientific political discussion several years ago when he published his *American political theories,* one is not surprised to find

that he has continued his studies in the same field and has brought out a book which attempts to do for the past half century what the former did for the period down to the civil war. It is not difficult to believe that Mr. Merriam found that his earlier work was a relatively simple task as compared with the later endeavor; not only were the elements from which could be constructed a conspectus of *ante bellum* political thought rather simple and relatively few, but the documentary materials on which conclusions might be based were reasonably limited, although, in truth, ample enough to test the endurance of him who would seek to digest them. Neither of these conditions held for the period since 1865, and a mere glance at the citations which adorn almost every page of the later work attest both the vast range of reading necessary to garner in the thought, even in part, of fifty years, as well as the toil involved in sifting and classifying the evidence. It is not at all surprising that here and there, although not often, there should be a slip in noting the title of a book.

Unlike the earlier work the present one does not attempt to divide the period covered into parts and to assign to each certain characteristics; it was both logical and convenient to deal separately with the colonial period, the revolutionary era, and the like; but no such clear-cut lines of demarcation can be discovered during the past half century, and consequently the treatment is wholly topical. With an introduction summing up *American political theories* as the "Background of American political thought," eleven chapters follow dealing with such subjects as "Typical interpretations of democracy," "The consent of the governed," "The courts and justice," "Democracy and constitutional change," "The political party and unofficial government," and "Government and liberty," the latter being the topic of two chapters. Chapter thirteen is devoted to "Systematic studies of politics," and chapter fourteen, to "Political ideas in American literature."

Taken as a whole, the work is unquestionably a distinct contribution, not alone to the literature of political science but also to an understanding of recent American history. Professor Merriam is to be congratulated by all those whose interests carry them into the later field of the development of the United States, and in turn they are to be felicitated for having at hand such a useful and illuminating compendium.

One of the principal criticisms is called forth by the mass of detail which at times obscures the general trend of the argument; some of this detail, it would seem, might have been avoided by a more strenuous effort to eliminate repetition, for frequently much of the material appears not only once but two and sometimes three times. While it is true that the topical arrangement makes such reduplication unavoidable at times, nevertheless all of it cannot be justified on such grounds. For instance,

a considerable proportion of the discussion of "Systematic studies of politics" has been given in appropriate chapters earlier in the book.

To one viewing the work from the standpoint of a student of history as distinguished from a student of the science of government, it seems as though certain factors have not been sufficiently stressed. Notably the student who is especially interested in the west and its influence on American political life feels that altogether too little weight is given to the continuing importance of what may be called, to use Professor Turner's title, "The frontier in American history." No one would dispute the fact that the whole social development of the nation in its broadest aspects has been profoundly modified by this western factor as distinguished from other elements, and at no time more than in the period following the civil war. Particularly does one notice this oversight when there is found virtually no reference to the exhaustion of the public lands in the discussion of growing urbanism and all the modifications connoted by it. Again, one feels that the whole agrarian movement, not only of the west but also of the south, is not only insufficiently noticed but is underestimated and somewhat incorrectly stated. If Professor Merriam had devoted a little less attention to many of the minor contributions, of a more or less theoretical or speculative nature, by political scientists, sociologists, and economists, and more to the mass of historical material which has been made available in late years, his narrative would have been better balanced. For example, a scant page calls attention to what has been done by historians, while many pages are devoted to writers in the other fields of social science; reference is made, in a footnote, to Professor Turner's presidential address before the American historical association in 1911, but nothing is said of the earlier and perhaps more constructive contributions by the same man, unless the implication in the text may be so construed. Unfortunately the book has a totally inadequate index.

Despite these inadequacies, which are not negligible, the work will unquestionably long remain the standard interpretative summary of American political thinking since the civil war as *American political theories* still does for the earlier period.

L. B. Shippee

The expansion of the Anglo-Saxon nations. A short history of the British empire and the United States. By several contributors. Edited by H. Clive Barnard. (London: A. and C. Black, 1920. 404 p.)

This attempt to trace the growth of the two great branches of the English-speaking race is, on the whole, fairly satisfactory. It is divided into seven parts. The editor deals with the first and the last, "Early history of the British empire," and the "Smaller British possessions"; Arthur

G. Dorland, of Queen's university, with British North America; Laurence H. Gipson, of Wabash college, with the United States; A. Yusuf Ali, late of the Indian civil service, with India; Jan H. Hofmeyr, with British Africa; and Thomas Dunbabin, with British Australasia. It may be interesting to note that Professor Gipson, Mr. Hofmeyr, and Mr. Dunbabin were all Rhodes scholars; that Mr. Dorland and Professor Gipson were fellows of Yale university; and that the editor was formerly Senior Hulme scholar of Brasenose college, Oxford; a rather interesting linking-up of men representing these two far-flung commonwealths.

While this history has the obvious limitations of any attempt to cover such a very wide field within less than four hundred pages, and will not satisfy serious students of the history of the United States or of that of any portion of the British empire, it will, nevertheless, serve a useful purpose in bringing within reasonable compass what must otherwise be sought in many volumes. As a reference to the accompanying bibliography will show, it is based upon sound authorities, and each division has been handled by a thoroughly competent scholar. Perhaps inevitably, a few mistakes have been allowed to creep in, and this is a little more notable than elsewhere in the part devoted to British North America. For instance, "courier de bois" should read "coureur de bois," and it is at least misleading to say that he was the predominating type in French Canada (p. 56). On page 82 the retention of the western posts by Great Britain until 1794 is stated to have been because of the "*alleged* failure of the United States to fulfill certain treaty obligations regarding the Loyalists and the payment of pre-war debts." The use of the word italicized creates an entirely wrong impression, justified neither by the terms of the treaty nor by subsequent events. "Canada Land Company" (p. 81) should read "Canada Company." "Hudson Bay Company" (p. 92 *et seq*) should read "Hudson's Bay Company." "Fort Chipewan" (p. 93) should read "Fort Chipewyan." Alexander Mackenzie's journey to the Arctic was in 1789, not 1792; he did not follow the Peace river to the Arctic; his journey to the Pacific can hardly be justly described as one of "incredible hardship." The statement (p. 93) that the route inland from Hudson bay was "from York Factory, or Fort Nelson, the two principal Hudson Bay posts on Hudson Bay, south along the Nelson River to Lake Winnipeg" is inaccurate. The recognized route did not follow the Nelson river, but the Hayes river. York factory and Fort Nelson were not the two principal Hudson bay posts. They were in fact different names for the same post. The two principal posts were York factory and Fort Prince of Wales. The assertion (p. 94) that the Red river settlement down to 1867 contained "the only considerable number of white settlers west of the Rocky Mountains" is extraordinary. "West" is obviously a misprint for

"east," but the statement is still incorrect, as is sufficiently clear from what is said as to British Columbia on page 96. "Sanford Fleming" (p. 101) should read "Sandford Fleming;" and "Colonel Wolsey" (p. 105), "Colonel Wolseley." There is no such thing as a Canadian "House of Representatives" (p. 105). "About 50 per cent of the area of Northern Ontario is water" (p. 114) is an absurd statement. To describe the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific with a maximum grade of from twenty-one to twenty-four feet per mile as "an engineering feat without parallel in the history of railway construction in North America," and the construction of the mountain section of the railway as a "wonderful feat" (p. 115), is surely a misuse of words. The route was known long before the Grand Trunk Pacific had been thought of. The reference on page 117 confuses two quite different bodies, the international waterways commission and the international joint commission. The Naval college, referred to on page 119, has been in operation for some years, first at Halifax, and, since the explosion, at Esquimalt. In the bibliography (p. 393) "Skilton" should read "Skelton." Surely something more recent that Byran Edwards' "History of the West Indies," 1793, might have been suggested.

L. J. B.

A CORRECTION

By some error still unexplained, the reviewer of Mr. Muzzey's *An American history* received a copy of the 1917 reprint instead of the 1920 revised edition. The result was an inadequate account of the new volume. The author has in this new edition entirely recast the narrative following the Spanish war and has made some changes in the earlier chapters. The maps have been improved and the references have been brought down to date. Naturally, the editor is very sorry that this mistake occurred and takes this occasion to make acknowledgment of it.

C. W. Alvord

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The principal portion of the October, 1920, number of the *Iowa journal of history and politics* is given up to two articles by Jacob van der See, who outlines the work of the Iowa code commission.

The REVIEW is happy to acknowledge the receipt of a new exchange, *United empire: the Royal colonial institute journal.* The January, 1921, issue, which is number 1 of volume 12 of the new series, has a wide range of interest, touching most of the main portions of the British empire.

Three issues of *Le bulletin des recherches historiques,* those for October, November, and December, 1920, contain a considerable number of brief articles on various topics, interesting principally to students of Canadian history, primarily of the period when Canada was under French control.

A varied group of items on Virginia history appears in the July, 1920, number of the *Virginia magazine of history and biography,* including a continuation of the "Minutes of the council and general court," abstracts from various papers in the Virginia state library describing Virginia in 1681-1682, and a letter written by John Bannister in 1775.

The *Canadian historical review* for December, 1920, presents as its principal articles an account of "Canada as a vassal state," by Archibald MacMechan, and "The first 'new province' of the dominion," by Chester Martin. For the "Notes and documents" section, James F. Kenney has edited "The journal of Walter Butler," in which is described a trip along the north shore of Lake Ontario in 1779.

The Georgia historical association and the Georgia historical society have been combined as the Georgia historical society. The *Georgia historical quarterly* will be continued, but a new editorial board, of college and university professors, will be in charge. The president of the new society, Judge Andrew J. Cable, has appointed as managing editor of the *Quarterly* Professor Percy Scott Flippin of Mercer university, Macon, Georgia.

The military history prize for 1920 has been awarded by the committee of the American historical association to Mr. Thomas Robson Hay for his essay entitled "Hood's Tennessee campaign." Of the seven others who submitted essays, honorable mention was accorded Professor W. P.

Webb, of the University of Texas, for his essay on "The Texas rangers in the Mexican war," and to Captain J. N. Greely, of the general staff of the United States army, for an essay entitled "What happens in battle."

The *Journal of negro history* for October, 1920, has an account of "Diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain bearing on the return of negro slaves, 1783-1828"; an article on "The negro in politics," by Norman P. Andrews; and two biographical sketches, "Henry Bibb, the colonizer," by Fred Landon, and "Myrtilla Miner," by G. Wormley Smith. Among the documents are "A letter addressed to the city council of Washington in 1833," "A Prince William county, Virginia, court record of 1756," and "Letters on reconstruction."

The *Tennessee historical magazine* for April, 1920, has a sketch of "John A. Murrell and Daniel Crenshaw," two notorious Tennessee criminals, by Park Marshall; a list of "Marriage records of Knox county, Tennessee," by Kate White; and the last installment of the "Journal of John Sevier," written between the fall of 1799 and September, 1815. In the appendix are some letters written by Sevier to his son, George Washington Sevier, in the latter part of the period covered by the journal.

In the *Hispanic American historical review* for November, 1920, Philip Ainsworth Means discusses "Indian legislation in Peru," Laura F. Ullrick gives an account of "Morillo's attempt to pacify Venezuela," Salomón de la Selva pleads that the United States lend its moral aid in establishing a union of Central America, and William Lytle Schurz discusses "The Royal Philippine company." In the bibliographical section C. K. Jones contributes a continuation of "Hispanic American bibliographies."

Two articles in the *Political science quarterly* for December, 1920, will especially attract the attention of the student of history; in one Franklin H. Giddings presents "A theory of history," and in the other Paul H. Douglas completes his "Development of a system of federal grants-in-aid." Other titles are "Reform in India," by Bernard Houghton, "Coal nationalization in England," by H. M. Hart, "Mobility of labor," by Paul F. Brissenden and Emil Frankel, "Europe at the crossroads," by Paul M. Warburg, and "the budget system in Canada," by Thomas M. Fraser.

The entire September 1920, issue of the *Indiana magazine of history* is devoted to Carl Painter's account of "The progressive party in Indiana." Mr. Painter's contribution is of a type well worth encouraging, for although undoubtedly as years pass many sources not accessible now will cast a different light upon various aspects of large political move-

ments, it is of great advantage to lay the basis of a better understanding of national events by local studies, and much fugitive material is caught and interpreted before it is consigned to oblivion.

The *Palimpsest* continues to bring out interesting and popular articles bearing on various phases of Iowa history. In the November, 1920, number are found "A geological palimpsest," by John E. Briggs, "The Iowa home note," by Bertha H. M. Shambaugh, and a collection of selections from different writers in "Through European eyes: Beltrami, Murray, Bremer, and Stephenson." In the December number, William S. Johnson writes on "Crossing the Mississippi," and A. R. Richter on "Clint Parkhurst." The January, 1921, issue has Ira A. Williams' "Lost in an Iowa blizzard," and Mildred J. Sharp's "Early cabins in Iowa."

The principal contributions in the December, 1920, issue of the *Wisconsin magazine of history* are "The trails of northern Wisconsin," by James H. McManus; a sketch of "Colonel Hans Christian Heg," by Theodore C. Blegen; "The panic of 1862 in Wisconsin," by M. M. Quaife; "Historic spots in Wisconsin," by W. A. Titus; and a discussion of "Co-operation between the state historical society and local societies," by Joseph Schafer. Some letters describing life at Camp Randall in 1862 continue the "Letters of a Badger boy in blue," which first appeared in the September number of the magazine.

The apprentice school of the R. R. Donnelly and sons company has brought out as the presentation volume for 1920 *The conquest of the Illinois, by George Rogers Clark,* edited by Dr. M. M. Quaife, editor of the State historical society of Wisconsin. Dr. Quaife has chosen to change the quaint punctuation and eclectic spelling of the famous pioneer and, in general, has polished a bit the somewhat difficult text of the original. Furthermore, the editor has added in appropriate places explanatory notes to assist the reader. As heretofore in this series the volume presents a delightful example of the printer's and bookbinder's arts.

That apparently inexhaustible mine, *The American nation,* is made once more to yield ore — this time *Harper's atlas of American history selected from "The American nation series" with map studies by Dixon Ryan Fox* (New York and London: Harper and brothers, 1920). This compilation brings together in a convenient form some of the more useful maps of the *Nation* series, while the "studies" consist of a few columns of comment suggested by each map, headed by the appropriate reference to a volume of *The American nation.* Since the atlas is probably intended to be used primarily by students, it is unfortunate that the materials and workmanship do not promise a very long life under other than very careful handling.

People of this middle west who have watched the experiments which Kansas has been trying in an attempt to solve its industrial problems and who read more or less incomplete reports of the debate between Mr. Samuel Gompers and Governor Allen last winter will welcome the publication, *Debate between Samuel Gompers and Henry J. Allen, at Carnegie hall, New York* (NewYork: E. P. Dutton and company, 1920. 105 p. $1.50), which gives verbatim the discussion. This book contains in addition to the debates, supplementary statements from both of the disputants wherein each takes the opportunity to answer somewhat more at length certain of the points which were left hanging when the gavel fell.

One of the least called-for and, to the ordinary mind, one of the most inexplicable publications of recent date is *Bradford's history of the Plymouth settlement, 1608-1650, rendered into modern English*, by Harold Paget (New York: E. P. Dutton and company, 1920. 353 p. $3.50). Whoever desires to use Governor Bradford's classic for a serious purpose would not think of turning to other than an edition which reproduces verbatim the form and substance of the original manuscript, while it may be questioned whether there are the "many" to whom "the reading of the mediaeval [!] English of the original, to which all preceding editions have adhered, would be so laborious as to preclude them from becoming acquainted with it."

The Nebraska state historical society held its forty-fourth annual meeting at Lincoln on January 11 and 12, 1921. In a varied program the principal note was reminiscent of Indian days, with "Greetings to the Nebraska state historical society, from the Omaha and Pawnee Indian tribes," brought by Eugene Fontenelle and Mrs. Henry Fontenelle, and, in the evening session of the second day, many selections from the vocal and instrumental music of American Indians rendered by the Thurlow Lieurance company. Among the formal papers were three having to do with Nebraska in the late war, as well as one by Clarence L. Clark on the "Development of laws relating to irrigation and water power in Nebraska," and George W. Holdrege's "Fifty years building the Burlington in Nebraska."

A newcomer in the field of local historical publications appears as the *Bulletin of the State historical and natural history society of Colorado.* Number 1 of volume 1, issued under the date of November, 1920, includes a foreword about the society, an account of the acquisitions of the historical section of the society, the activities of the war history and the natural history sections, notices of public meetings of interest to members, a list of publications by the society, and the story of the celebration of Colorado day under the auspices of the Sons and daughters of the state

when the centenary of the Long expedition into Colorado furnished the central theme of the meeting. There are some notes on the establishment of a department of archæology and ethnology, a brief description of the ruins of southwestern Colorado, and a notice of the annual meeting of the society.

The navy and the nation. War-time addresses, by Josephus Daniels (New York: George H. Doran company, 1919. 348 p. $2.00), is a collection of speeches and public statements issued by Mr. Wilson's secretary of the navy beginning March 29, 1917, and concluding with an address on "The covenant of peace," delivered on February 16, 1919. The addresses convey a pleasant impression of Mr. Daniels' ability to deliver high-minded exhortations to patriotic action in times of public peril, but they do not greatly add to our understanding of his conduct of the navy department, one of the most debated side problems of the entire Wilson administration. The address of December 17, 1918, "Drink banished from the navy," will be found interesting as Mr. Daniels' defense of a famous and oft-assailed order which anticipated the eighteenth amendment. The reader of this volume will arise convinced that Mr. Daniels is a profound lover of his kind, who has been actuated by a genuine humanity. Whether, however, the navy of the United States played a conspicuous part in the world war because of, or in spite of, his incumbency in office must be determined from other data.

The *Ohio archaeological and historical quarterly* for October, 1920, contains some valuable material relative to Cèloron's expedition to establish more firmly the French claim to the Ohio valley. The journal of Cèloron, which was translated and published in *Catholic historical researches* in 1886 by the Reverend A. A. Lambing, is now made much more readily accessible than hitherto by being reprinted in full. The journal of Father Bonnecamps describing the same expedition, while available to some extent since it is printed in the *Jesuit relations,* fittingly accompanies the principal account. C. B. Galbreath supplies an introductory article and O. H. Marshall's "De Cèloron's expedition to the Ohio in 1749," originally published in the *Magazine of American history,* contributes an illuminative discussion of the event. In addition to the Cèloron articles, this number contains an account of the "Unveiling of the soldiers' memorial tablet on the Hayes memorial building at Spiegel Grove," by Lucy Elliot Keeler, an article by William E. Connelley on the "Origin of Indian names of certain states and rivers," and "The centenary of Sandusky county," by Basil Meek.

Mr. Arthur Sweetser, formerly a member of the staff of the American peace commission and a member of the provisional secretariat of the

league of nations, has brought together in a little book, *The league of nations at work* (New York: The Macmillan company, 1920. 215 p. $1.75), a summary of the facts about the league in its first moments, with some comment on the inception of the scheme and a brief discussion of certain of its functions. Chapter headings like "The permanent court," "The secretariat," "Mandates," "The international labor organization," "Economic co-operation," and "The league as mediator" give an idea of the scope of the book. The attitude and the purpose of the author are indicated by some words in his preface: "I am convinced that almost no one, either friend or foe, understands what the League actually is. . . . It has been a constant effort all through the preparation of these pages to present only the plain, hard, concrete facts, in the conviction that the average busy reader is satiated with the flood of generalities about the League and the brotherhood of man. . . . This little book comes from a friend of and a believer in the League." Friend or foe of this organization would waste no time in perusing Mr. Sweetser's contribution.

In a fat double number of over three hundred pages the *Michigan history magazine* for April-July, 1920, presents several contributions on Michigan history, recent and remote, ranging from articles dealing with the state's part in the great war to an account of an interesting archæological discovery. One of the most valuable papers is Joseph Ruff's "Joys and sorrows of an emigrant family," wherein are set down experiences of a German family which removed from Beffendorf to America in 1853. Other papers include "Detroit commercial organizations," by William Stocking; "Michigan in the great war," by C. H. Landrum; "General Shafter's address," by William W. Potter; "Reminiscences of life at Mackinac," by Constance Saltonstall Patton; "Work of Michigan committee, N. L. W. S.," by Mrs. R. C. Sherrill; "Historic sites of St. Joseph county," by Aloysia McLoughlin; "The Women's relief corps as a pioneer," by Franc L. Adams; "A minor mystery of Michigan archeology," by George R. Fox; "Paper villages of St. Joseph county," by Sue I. Silliman; "The story of a famous mission [l' Arbre Croche]," by H. Bedford Jones; "Fort Wilkins, Copper harbor, Mich.," by Lew Allen Chase; and "Early days in Lansing," by F. N. Turner.

In the *Illinois Catholic historical review* for October, 1920, appear "Some first ladies of Illinois," sketches of the wives of various governors, by Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J.; "The northwestern part of the diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati," by the Reverend John Rothensteiner; "The Irish in Chicago," by Joseph J. Thompson; and "The Franciscans in southern Illinois," by the Reverend Silas Barth, O. M. P. A portion of C. B. Galbreath's account of "Lafayette's visit to the Ohio valley

states'' is reprinted as ''Lafayette in Illinois.'' An article on ''Catholic statesmen in Illinois,'' by Joseph J. Thompson, includes some reference to several well-known Illinoisians who were not Catholics. The January issue has another of Mr. Thompson's Chicago articles, this time on ''The first Catholics in Chicago,'' and the Reverend Mr. Barth contributes further information about ''The Franciscans in southern Illinois,'' while ''The northeastern part of the diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati'' receives attention from Father Rothensteiner. Three other body articles complete this number: ''Sebastien Louis Meurin,'' by Charles H. Metzger, S. J., ''The Knights of Columbus in the war and after,'' by Joseph J. Thompson, and ''Richard C. Gannon,'' by James F. Kennedy.

In a limited edition there have been reprinted two rare revolutionary pamphlets, *Considerations on the present state of Virginia,* and *Considerations on the present state of Virginia examined* (Sixty-three copies printed for Charles F. Heartman, in New York City, 1919. 83 p.). The authorship of the former is attributed to John Randolph, partly on the evidence of a statement written by a contemporary (1774) on the title-page of the copy possessed by the New York public library containing the words ''by John Randolph, esq. his majes. attorney genl. of that colony & brother to the speaker of the ho. of assembly who is chairman at the general congress held at Philadelphia.'' Jefferson and others ascribe the second to Robert Carter Nicholas, also of Virginia. Each document has been edited with an explanatory preface by Earl Gregg Swem, assistant librarian of the Virginia state library. Although such a limited number of copies cannot make available these valuable documents to more than a chosen few, it is, nevertheless, fortunate that it is now possible for others besides those who have convenient access to the libraries of New York to use these evidences of points of view which did not coincide with those of the more radical group which carried the revolutionary doctrines through to the ultimate independence of the American colonies.

At the suggestion of the Society of Indiana pioneers, a number of organizations united with it in calling a second state-wide conference on Indiana history to meet at Indianapolis on the tenth and eleventh of December last. At the three sessions several papers of general interest were presented, including ''Jefferson Davis a prisoner in Macon, Georgia,'' by Captain Joseph A. Goddard, ''Our history,'' by B. F. Shambaugh, and ''The last days of Lincoln,'' by Judge Robert W. McBride. Other papers and discussions dealt with various phases of work in local and state history of Indiana. On the evening of December 11 the Society of Indiana pioneers held its annual dinner; at this time different aspects of the centennial of Indiana were presented by Walter C. Wood-

ward, President William L. Bryan, John H. Holliday, and Harlow Lindley.

The *Proceedings* of the preceding conference held in December, 1919, are printed in *Bulletin* number 11 of the Indiana historical commission. The papers and the discussion touched various phases of the progress made in the study of Indiana history, the value of local history and its study, as well as outstanding needs in both fields. Both by the character of the discussion and by the numbers in attendance the conference demonstrated the importance of such consultations where various organizations meet to exchange views.

NOTE

The unprecedented delay in bringing out this number of the Review has been due primarily to printing difficulties arising from labor troubles. The editors hope to regain at least some of the lost ground with the next issue, which will be a double number, for June and September.

THE BOUND TO PLEASE
Heckman Bindery INC.
SEPT. 66
N. MANCHESTER, INDIANA